COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP *for* PUBLIC EDUCATION

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Community Leadership for Public Education

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Dan H. Cooper, Editor

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PREFACE

DEEPLY INGRAINED in every culture are those intimate, personal relationships of individuals and groups which can exist only in the home and in the local community setting. One might even say that the basic value patterns of individuals have their origins in such relationships, and many of the ideals to which our country is dedicated must be achieved through action in this setting. Initiative, self-reliance, independence, action for mutual benefit, and the right to be different are examples of important values which can be expressed best through the local community. Interdependence likewise has its origins and many of its finest practices in a local setting.

Contemporary history is filled with developments that have shifted attention from the local community to the larger communities of the state, the nation, and the world. Students of social behavior have looked with dismay upon the growth of a pattern of forces which seem to weaken the local community by decreasing the extent to which decisions affecting the welfare of individuals and local groups can be made in the community setting. Many fear that this trend toward the making of decisions in remote places is threatening the basic ideals upon which our country has been built. There are those who go so far as to say that the battle for democracy can be lost if these trends are not halted.

Some actions of state, national, and international governments appear to undermine or at least to alter the traditional role of local communities. The time is at hand for reassessing these communities and for taking a fresh look at ways in which they may serve as laboratories for the cultivation and development of our democratic values. Community studies, more intensive than we have had in the past, seem to be justified. Experimentation in ways of broadening the base of creative participation in community affairs is needed. The analysis of leadership and its functions and operations in the community appears to be a principal requisite of such experimentation. A kind of leadership which will serve to preserve and enhance the values found in the local community as a functional unit of society offers an avenue to greater security in this age of anxiety.

The nature of and extent to which changes in institutions, agencies, and groups are related to forces from outside the community is not known.

Perhaps one illustration of these changes is that many who are deeply interested in the perpetuation and improvement of our country now look to the public schools as an instrument of social policy of much greater importance than heretofore considered necessary or desirable. Public education is now widely assigned a function of community improvement. How well schools can achieve this lofty aim remains to be demonstrated. It is certain that such schools must be more closely attuned to the lives of the people they serve. A different kind of working relationship between school people and lay citizens is necessary before a school program is possible which is reflected in a role so intimate to community living.

The authors through these pages seek to help individuals understand better the nature of their communities, the individuals and groups who compose them, and the manner in which decisions are made. It is hoped that thought will be stimulated on the proper functions of leadership in the local community and on developing better understanding of its appropriate methods and techniques. The major thesis is that the welfare of communities and individuals is one and the same and that the role of the community can be enhanced magnificently through cooperative action for self-improvement which in turn provides a setting for the highest level of achievement for individuals.

This book is a product of the Southern States Cooperative Program in Educational Administration, a common enterprise of local school administrators, professors of educational administration, members of state departments of education, and other interested persons dedicated to the development and continuous improvement of educational leadership. The authors wish to express their profound appreciation to the S.S.C.P.E.A., which is supported in part by the W. K. Kellogg Foundation and sponsored by the American Association of School Administrators, and to the hundreds of citizens, lay and professional, who have contributed to the knowledge and understanding which have gone into this volume.

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SECTION ONE

INDIVIDUALS MAKE COMMUNITIES

A COMMUNITY *can be a very complex and confusing picture. It may be big or small, industrialized or farm-centered, metropolitan or rural, happy or disturbed, reticent or progressive. Nevertheless, the people give a community its personality. They make a community what it is—varied and complex. That's why it's necessary to look at people in order to know communities better.*

CHAPTER ONE

MEET THE PEOPLE

HOW WELL does a man really know the people who live in his community? He works with some of them, and he is a neighbor to others. There are those whom he sees only once or twice a month at a club meeting and those whom he sees only at church. He knows others because he has heard them on the radio or read about them in the newspaper. The man who drives the biggest car in town is a Mr. Walton. Ernest Kinnerly is known for his poll-watching on election day. Just who are all of these people and how do they make up a community?

LET'S LOOK AT A "CITY FATHER"

Most people know a prominent community leader such as Judge William C. Overholt of Springbrook. He lived in the Springbrook community many years prior to his appointment as circuit court judge by Governor Karl T. Grover. The "Judge," as the people speak of him, resides in the Lone Oak section of the community, where he can view much of the town and the surrounding countryside. Actually, this section is seldom referred to as Lone Oak; it is usually called "Quality Hill," a name that seems more appropriate to most town folks. Judge Overholt can often be seen working in the spacious lawn in front of his colonial-style home on the days when he is not out of town attending to his professional duties as circuit court judge.

Judge and Mrs. Overholt have one daughter and two sons—all married. Only his daughter now lives in Springbrook, having married Cecil Stockendale, who is president of the Springbrook Farmers and Merchants Bank. The two sons, whom the parents visit quite often, are law partners in a nearby city. Mrs. Overholt has attempted to persuade the boys to return to Springbrook and resume their father's law practice. In seeking to promote the continuance of the Overholt legal tradition in Springbrook, she reminds them of their illustrious uncle, Thad C. Overholt, who helped to make Springbrook what it is today. She also tells the boys of grandfather King C. Overholt, who helped to incorporate Springbrook and served as its mayor. For some reason, the boys are not very much impressed with the descriptions of their ancestors and the contributions they have made to Springbrook. This irritates Mrs. Overholt. She says that the boys "won't listen to reason," that they just "don't know a good thing when they see it."

Judge Overholt served in many honorable positions in his community prior to his present appointment as judge. He is known as "the champion of the people." Everyone is well aware of the numerous personal services the Judge has rendered during the past 30 years. The older people often see the traits of his father in the Judge, and they take pride in identifying themselves with both men.

The Judge, in commenting on his participation in community activities, said recently, "I haven't been able to take part in many things since I became judge. I'm duty-bound to serve the circuit and this takes me into three other counties." In fact, the people who know him say that Judge Overholt now concerns himself only with the major things that come up from time to time. He tries to leave the routine jobs to the "men on whom he can depend." However, the Judge still finds that he must help with some problems that concern the community at large and others that involve certain of Springbrook's residents. As the court recorder says, "They just won't let him alone because, after all, he knows more about the business of Springbrook than anyone else."

Vic King, a local filling station operator, can talk for hours about the Judge's achievements. Recently Vic was telling about a pro-

posal to build a hospital in Springbrook. Two of the city councilmen had proposed that a hospital be built in Springbrook under the Hill-Burton Act, which provided federal funds to match local funds for certain projects. After a heated discussion a motion was passed that the proposal be given study until a later meeting. Following the meeting, the mayor, M. R. Seymore, and two other councilmen decided that they should talk with the Judge about the proposal. On the way up to the Judge's home in the Lone Oak section, the group picked up Roger Kinsman, who was standing in front of Thompson's Drug Store. Roger had always been a close personal friend of the Judge and had been appointed to various positions by him. The mayor and the other councilmen felt more at ease with the Judge when Roger was in the group.

Judge Overholt listened quite attentively to what the mayor and his group had to say about the hospital proposal. As usual, the Judge had little to say at first. He asked about the proposal and about the people making it. Finally he began asking rhetorical questions that revealed his position on the matter:

"Do you want the federal government to control things in Springbrook?"

"Where are we going to get our share of the money?"

"Will this mean that we will have to treat all of the poor people in Springbrook free?"

"Can we make money on the hospital or will it be an added cost on our budget?"

The Judge seldom gave a directive to people in such meetings, but everyone knew how he stood. His logic, couched in pointed queries, made sense to them.

The Judge had indicated that he thought the hospital project would not be good for the community. The mayor and the other councilmen saw that they must act vigorously in opposition to the project. Plans were formulated to defeat the proposal before the next council meeting. As always, the Judge's reasoning had been clear, logical, and concise concerning what should be done. Sensing his opposition to the hospital, the group had asked him how it should be blocked. Then his advice was specific. "Slow down the proposal through different means. Don't talk it. Don't show much enthusiasm. Be skeptical. If you must comment, indicate that it doesn't appear to be 'fiscally sound.' Be careful not to oppose it to such an extent that you precipitate a crusade for it. I'll pass the word around." The following day one could hear in Springbrook, "They say that Judge Overholt is opposed to the hospital. There must be a hitch in it somewhere."

Another Springbrook resident, Jack Parker, has sold groceries to the Judge and his family for years. One day before the rush hour, he told this story about Jim Smithson, who recently had a critical personal problem. Jim had mortgaged his farm about five years ago and had made out all right on the payments until last year. Then, because of a severe drought, he was able to pay only his taxes. Naturally, Jim was apprehensive about losing his farm. Moreover, his two girls, both now attending high school, needed and wanted clothes like those of their friends. Later Jim received a foreclosure warning from the loan officer of the Springbrook Farmers and Merchants Bank.

One day when Jim spoke to Jack about his troubles, Jack said, "Why, Jim, go and talk with the Judge. He won't charge you for

a little advice. I've seen him help a lot of people in these matters, and he would want you to do just that." Jim would not go to see the Judge at first because he was not sure how the Judge would take it.

Jim had a strange feeling about the Judge. Even though he felt that he should go to see him, he could not make himself do it. To Jim, the Judge seemed very much a part of Springbrook, and at the same time he appeared to be so dignified and distant. Jim found it difficult to explain his reluctance to get in touch with him. As time for the foreclosure drew nearer, however, Jim decided to see the Judge about his problem. The Judge actually seemed glad to see Jim and listened very attentively to all that Jim said. After Jim had finished, the Judge said, "Jim, why didn't you come to see me before about this? I didn't know you were having trouble." The Judge walked to the hall and picked up the telephone. Soon he was talking with the loan officer of the bank. Jim was very glad that he had come to see the Judge. Suddenly, he felt a surge of admiration toward the man who was trying to help him.

Judge Overholt returned to tell Jim that he had worked things out with the bank. A generous extension had been arranged with no penalty. He again reproved Jim for not coming to see him sooner. Jim was amazed at Judge Overholt's shrewdness in solving a problem that had previously seemed so complex, so hopeless. He turned over and over in his mind the statements the Judge had made to him—there was no doubt about it, they made sense. As he was driving home in his truck, he felt more secure than he had felt for months.

Despite all the evidences of his influence and kindness, Judge Overholt is a man of few words in a crowd of people. He is friendly enough in passing the time of day but refrains from publicly expressing his opinions concerning controversial matters. Pete Brown, the local funeral director, puts it this way: "If you want to talk with the Judge about building a bridge, you had better do it on a personal basis." Newcomers to Springbrook often fail to recognize the contributions to community affairs that Judge Over-

holt makes. In secret admiration, the people say, "The Judge plays his cards close to his chest." However, he has established channels through which his influence reaches the community.

Some people can tell what the Judge wants done by watching one of his select friends. Newt Robbins said the other day, "We can always tell who the Judge is supporting in an election by watching one of his images. Roger Kinsman, the circuit court clerk, is one. We just keep an eye on Roger." Then he added, "From time to time you can see Roger go up to the Judge's house about dusky dark to get the Judge's slant on something. When you ask Roger how he stands, you're really finding out the Judge's position on something." Thus, it was generally known in Springbrook that Roger had never taken a position on an issue that was contradictory to the opinion held by the Judge. Even in some of the hottest issues, the Judge appeared to be somewhat disinterested and undisturbed. Nevertheless, his opinion was widely known, and his influence was felt.

The unquestionable status of Judge Overholt was in part built upon his participation in a select few activities that were highly sanctioned by the community. The Judge and his wife have always attended church on Sunday. He taught a Sunday School class for a number of years and is still one of the most trusted officials in the church. The minister tells other members: "I can think of no greater pillar in our church than Judge Overholt. He has generously rendered the church wise, fundamental Christian assistance throughout the years." Moreover, virtually any Springbrook resident would readily agree with the way one of their number described the judge: "The Judge is a fine Christian gentleman, and that's the very best I can say about anyone."

Yes, there is no doubt that Judge Overholt is one of the people who helps make Springbrook what it is. Many communities have residents like Judge Overholt. One may have heard such statements as these: "They say Doc Robbins is opposed to building a new high school gym." "Although you wouldn't know it from the editorials in his paper, I've heard that Johnson is supporting Mike Simpson in the sheriff's race." "Jim told me that Pop Hargoves was

going to throw the blocks to our pet project." These or similar comments offer some evidence that a "city father" or several of them may exist in a community. In short, the community may be operating predominantly under a paternalistic social policy.

A paternalistic pattern of community leadership is not uncommon and is often quite effective. After all, the Judge is a very intelligent person, "a fine Christian gentleman," "knows more about the business of Springbrook than anyone else." The people do not have to worry about getting answers to community problems. They accept a paternalistic policy and have faith in the wise guidance of one who knows.

Is Judge Overholt a "fine Christian gentleman"? The people in Springbrook say he is. He is obviously a man of very high principles. However, at times he will move heaven and earth to get his way, to get what he thinks is best for his community. Is he really more interested in Springbrook or in establishing for all time the "Overholt tradition" in Springbrook? Is the Judge a person who can mysteriously solve complex problems—as he appeared to be when he rendered such immediate service to Jim Smithson with apparently so little effort? Holding the controlling stock in the Springbrook Farmers and Merchants Bank, knowing the legal point of view in approaching a problem, being continually in a position to gain wide experiences in many undertakings—these personal resources of the Judge have placed him in a unique position to render assistance to many people. He could become wealthy by rendering such services, and he has made money. However, Judge Overholt would rather make less money and receive in its place prestige, power, and lasting personal ties with many people.

This is the type of public leadership that permeates some communities. These communities have a Judge Overholt or several of them. They may not be called "Judge" or be in the legal profession; they may not live in the best houses, own stock in the bank, or have "images." Nevertheless, these Judge Overholts are just as willing to render advice and services. They are willing to decide "what is best for the people." They are probably liked very much as individuals. They are among the many personalities who make

each community what it is and who can give direction to what it does.

A VETERAN SEEKS FURTHER VICTORIES

"What Crisfield needs is progress!" This masterful diagnosis of community welfare can be attributed to Newell Thompson, who has recently completed a modern home in the Fairview section of Crisfield. The Thompsons have always been a typical Crisfield family as far as wealth and social standing were concerned. Newell married a local girl while serving as a pilot in the Army Air Corps during World War II, and they now have three children ranging from one to seven years of age. He has been successful in the used car business. In fact, Newell has made a name for himself in a rather short time.

A person who talks with Newell feels that he is a man who has a mission in Crisfield. Newell says, "What we need to do is to change some things around here for progress. I am for anything that means progress for Crisfield." Newell feels that he is a great crusader in the face of strong opposition from the "old timers."

Newell, quite obviously, is a very busy man. His zeal for action takes him into many quarters of Crisfield. For example, he has been a member of the city council for the past four years, in addition to belonging to more and more civic clubs, organizations, and lay groups. One will always find Newell taking an active part in every community meeting. He now serves as a member of the city council, president of a civic club in Crisfield, and chairman of the Progress for Crisfield Commission. Even though his oldest child has completed only one year of school, Newell is already one of the leaders in the Parent-Teacher Association of the school.

Ned Collins, who sells hardware in Crisfield, was recently telling about Newell's attempt to get a cold storage plant in the community. Ned said that Newell had read a newspaper account of how the planning commission of another county had promoted such a project. Now the citizens of that county have very reasonable cold storage facilities, and the plant will pay for itself in ten years. Newell finally got the Progress for Crisfield Commission to endorse a pro-

posal to build a cold storage plant, provided one-third of the cost of the project could be underwritten by personal subscriptions. Newell then got in his car and drove all over Crisfield to talk with people about the advantages of having a cold storage plant in town. He had come to see Ned about this on several occasions. He wanted him to subscribe to several shares in this venture so that the actual construction could get under way. "Ned," Newell would say, "this will be the biggest thing we have done, and I'm telling you it will mean progress for Crisfield. Just think—everyone can bring their produce right to the freezers; no canning and stuff like that." Ned has generally found himself contributing to such schemes or projects because Newell's ideas have seemed so promising, so different from what he had previously heard in Crisfield.

It was Newell who, as a member of the city council, proposed that the city build a youth center. An awesome silence pervaded the council chamber when Newell made the proposal. Following Newell's brief speech, one comment after another was made. Newell had considerable support from a few people who attended the council meeting that night, but some of the councilmen were quite cold to the idea and quite vocal in their disapproval. Carlton Smith said quite bluntly, "Young man, some day you'll learn that this is a city council. It purports to be the governing body for the city of Crisfield. I, as a responsible member of that body, have no interest in going into the recreation business." Nevertheless, the mayor appointed a committee to make recommendations concerning the proposal at the next council meeting.

Newell remained to talk with numerous persons long after the council meeting adjourned. He went to see a number of persons that night. The next day Newell ran a special advertisement in the local newspaper in support of the plan to build the youth center. The advertisement concluded with the time and date for a community meeting scheduled to rally even more support for the plan. Newell's wife held several telephone conversations with the members of the local chapter of a national women's organization urging them to attend the meeting. Mimeographed sheets were widely distributed to announce this special meeting at the City Hall. In

the meantime, Newell accepted appointments to speak to several community groups about the plan. This was the manner in which Newell took on a job of fighting for something that met his definition of community progress and improvement.

The range of public affairs that Newell has taken part in marks him as Crisfield's most public-spirited citizen. His activities extend from the time when he ran for mayor six years ago until just recently when he got into a scrape with the tax assessor by advocating a reassessment of all property within the city limits. His motives have never been doubted, but he still gets criticism expressed something like this: "Newell is one of our best men, but he wants to move too fast." "I'm afraid Newell would run us in debt." "He thinks that the only way to improve things is by spending money."

Most people have known a person who possesses the characteristics Newell Thompson displays in "working for progress." Newell is the type of person who may seek change for the sake of change. He is likely to say that any change is good. He is fed up with present conditions. Of course, change in itself does not always mean progress. Spending money may not be the way to improve particular social conditions. Nevertheless, "progress" and "change" are Newell's creed, his doctrine. Newell and others like him seldom face up to a realistic evaluation of the effects of proposed changes. They can suggest a million dollar bond issue without batting an eye.

THERE'S ONE IN EVERY TOWN

Everyone has met and talked with a man like Farley Brown. Farley always manages to hold a public office; moreover, he is interested mainly in community events that might affect his present position as city tax collector for Johnstown.

Farley is a big, jovial fellow who chats incessantly with people under the shade tree that stands in front of the City Hall. For some reason, people like Farley. He makes everyone feel important. From week to week, Farley never fails to ask how one's garden is getting along. He remembers to ask how someone else's sprained back is or to congratulate a father on his daughter's winning second

place in the pastry contest. He is nice to his "friends" when they pay their taxes a week late. He just overlooks the matter of imposing a penalty on them.

Farley, after all, will never let a friend down, and just about everyone is his friend. He does not like to take stands on bitter controversies because, as he puts it, "They always cost you more friends than you might suspect." If Farley is forced to commit himself on an issue, he waits until he can foresee the sentiment of the most influential people. Then he announces his opinion in

agreement with their sentiment, and to many people his decision appears to be an independent one.

Farley is continually preparing for the next election. He has learned that a slap on the back today may mean a vote next year. He is very adept at distributing campaign funds. Moreover, he knows how to pick up an extra 50 votes here or 80 votes there by telling one or two people something in "confidence"—something that rapidly becomes a rumor and that only much later is found to have been a half-truth. At election time, he uses his "special formula" if he is really challenged. "Nothing," he has been known to say, "is better for getting votes by the handful than a few pints of liquor with a dollar bill wrapped around each of 'em."

Farley Brown served as county commissioner for two terms prior to assuming his duties as city tax collector. He made quite a name for himself as a commissioner because he refused to make any changes in policy that would affect the people in Johnstown. Many of the people there have interpreted this as an indication of his protective power and his interest in Johnstown. They once said, "There are some pretty influential men serving as commissioners but they can't push Farley around. He'll stop them if they try to put anything over on us." Actually, Farley merely followed his usual course of avoiding controversies. He has learned throughout the years that the best way to keep his office is to do as little as possible. Many people voted for him because he was to them a "good, safe man." As a tax collector, he could be trusted to look after the routine business of his office and do little else. Recently, the mayor characterized him even more bluntly when he commented, "Farley is a person on whom we can depend to do nothing out of the ordinary. He runs an efficient office."

Most communities have a person who is considered to be a "good, safe man," who won't let others "put anything over on him," who can be "depended upon to do nothing out of the ordinary." A man who possesses Farley Brown's characteristics needs to be looked at critically. Is the ability to "run an efficient office" all one wants in a public official? Does one want an official who "hunts for a safe corner" when his community or county needs help most on a critical problem? Does one want a local legislator who specializes in blocking those laws which might affect his town? Does one want a tax collector who continually modifies the responsibilities of his office so that his personal friendships will not be ruffled? The answer to these questions is obvious. One becomes determined to show such a person just who has influence around town. Yet if he is approached face to face, he senses what's wrong and says in an injured tone, "Cross my heart, Bert, I wouldn't do that to you because you're my friend. Why, I wouldn't even hold this office if it weren't for reliable people like you. Besides, didn't I take care of you—didn't I help you get that street light in front of your house?"

Then one says to oneself, "Well, what does it matter? I suppose he's doing the best he can."

"NO, I NEVER HAVE TIME FOR THOSE THINGS"

"No, I never have time for those things" is a comment that might well have come from Will Bradford who lives in Greenville. Will is happiest when he is at work as accountant for several retail businesses in town. He married a girl from a nearby community just after he finished high school. By working at night for several years, he finally became a certified public accountant. There is one other member of the family—a daughter who finished college recently and who will teach home economics in the high school next year.

Will doesn't get around very much. He is generally just seen going to and from his work. Sometimes he stops in the public library to pick up a few books. The people say that you are lucky if Will Bradford passes your house each day—you can set your watch by him.. On Sunday afternoons Will and his wife usually walk three blocks down the street to a park. This walk evidently constitutes Will's recreation.

For some reason Will could never find time to keep up with important happenings in his community. "I don't see that it makes any difference who is in office as long as they do their jobs and leave me alone." This was the way he felt about public affairs. When he was invited to attend one of the local civic clubs, he refused the invitation so flatly that his comment was actually rude. "Me, join a civic club? What for? They are only good for politicians. There's no need for me to take up my time in such things."

Will Bradford is such an inactive person that some people think he is timid. There is evidence, however, that he is far from timid. Three months ago he ignored an announcement of a community meeting that concerned the reassessment of town property. He didn't want to go—he didn't have time, he said. Yet, when the city council refused to approve a reassessment of property, he raved to his wife for most of the week. "That's more politics for you," he

would say. "The big boys in the court house don't want anyone to get a look at the assessments on their holdings. They've worked hard to fix themselves up right. I'll tell you, nothing is as rotten as politics."

Why should Will complain about politicians? Could he find time to participate in community affairs? Why blame the politicians? Will did nothing to influence the issue. He gave nothing, and yet he expected a public offering.

One hears people like Will Bradford—far too many of them—spoken of as "such a nice, peaceful citizen," "always tending to his own business," "never stirs up trouble." Such people are peaceful citizens, but are they always *good* citizens? Do progressive communities come into existence without human efforts and conscientious exertion toward well-planned, mutually accepted goals? The answer is once again obvious. Nevertheless, such people do not have time for those things. Having a regular time for leisurely reading the evening paper may be very costly if it interferes with fulfilling a man's obligation to his community.

DON'T FORGET THE OTHERS

The Judge Overholts, Newell Thompsons, Farley Browns, and Will Bradfords constitute a very small percentage of the variety of people who make up communities. We have attempted to show these four people as they really are—as one would find them to be if they lived next door. Of course, there are innumerable other members of communities who could be characterized with equal clarity and who would seem just as familiar. In a meeting of a Laymen's Club, what would one probably see and hear?

The speaker for the evening is "Doc" Jamesby, who has delivered over 4,000 babies during his long career of medical service. As he gives the major speech of the evening, he reveals some rather penetrating insights into community problems that need attention. One notices that Dr. Jamesby cannot resist the temptation to deal "socialized medicine" a rather sharp blow toward the end of his talk.

Let us look at some of the people to whom Dr. Jamesby is addressing his speech. The local banker is there. People are prone

to refer to him as "the man who loves the dollar," since it is rather difficult to secure a loan from him. "He wants too much collateral," the folks might add in defense of their generalization. Sitting directly to the left of the banker is one of the leading grocerymen in town, who is now serving as the chairman of the Annual United Drive. In some respects he is very different from the banker. He permits almost anyone to open an account with him, and he seldom sends a bill until an account has been overdue for two months. As one looks at these two men, one can see immediately how they would propose and support quite different solutions to community problems.

Over there is the newspaper editor. Every now and then he jots down a note on Dr. Jamesby's speech. The editor always knows what is going on in the community; at present he is busy pushing a "Ten Point Community Improvement Plan," which has already been supported by several local groups. He claims to be a middle-of-the-road operator concerning public affairs. As he would express it, his views are "just about center—not too liberal or too conservative."

Still others are at the Laymen's Club meeting. One's minister is there, seated across from a minister of another denomination. A real estate dealer, a retired farmer, the principal of the high school, a furniture dealer, an insurance salesman, a barber, the county farm agent, a funeral director, and various other people are sitting at the table with their eyes turned toward the speaker.

All of these people and many others are needed to make up one's community. Yet, these people seem to be different in so many ways—different occupations, different interests, and virtually opposite ways of looking at some community affairs.

One's community may be predominantly a farming center, a suburban residential area, an urban center, or a resort town. Nevertheless, the "Doc" Jamesbys, the bankers, the real estate dealers, the Judge Overholts, the grocers, the Farley Browns, and all the others will be a part of it. They form an endless chain of people who are one's community. These people do not look alike, act alike, or follow the same pattern of living. They agree and disagree among themselves about community issues because of these personal characteristics.

IT TAKES ALL KINDS

People act in various ways in their communities, and the way most of the people act tends to give a community its "personality." It is true that communities may be very large and complex or small and simple in their social structure. However, even the smallest are made up of people who act differently.

The Judge Overholts do not act like the Newell Thompsons. In fact, people resembling these men are often in direct disagreement. The Judge Overholts often seem to oppose drastic changes ("It is rumored that Judge Overholt is opposed to . . ."). The Newell Thompsons, on the the other hand, are always working for "progress"—continually advocating change.

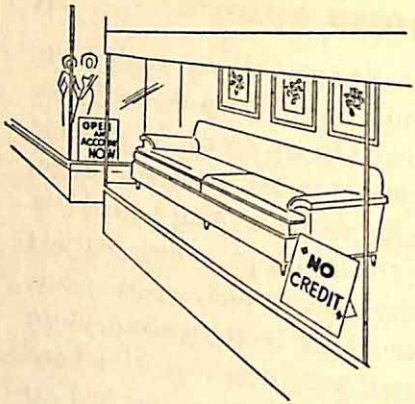
It is likewise obvious that the Farley Browns, the men who make and keep so many "friends," are very unlike the Judge Overholts and the Newell Thompsons. These people view their community very differently from the Will Bradfords—the non-participating community residents. Will defines most community affairs as being inseparable from "dirty politics." Farley Brown, on the other hand, takes his place in the midst of community life and finds some security there, although he, too, makes a negligible contribution to community improvement.

Can one imagine a community made up entirely of Overholts—

people who just must be at the top? The community would be in a continuous turmoil. A community composed mostly of Farley Browns would also be a rare spectacle. Everyone would be back-slapping, and at the same time each would be conniving against the other. A community of Will Bradfords would be equally pathetic. The Bradfords would be saying, "Let George do it"—but there would be no George! No, it is impossible to think of such a community.

The community of Springbrook would not be the same if Judge Overholt, the "city father," were not there. It is clear that Crisfield would be quite a different place if Newell Thompson had his way about things. If Farley Brown suddenly decided to see how he could best serve the community instead of concentrating upon what he could get out of it for himself, Johnstown might produce a state or national political figure. If Will Bradford were to roll up his sleeves and pitch into the midst of community affairs, Greenville might become a different place—at least, it would be a very different place to him.

Yes, all of these people are different but they play an important part in making their communities what they are. They also make them develop particular characteristics and progress in one direction or another. Why are these people so different? Why do they play such widely divergent roles in the lives of their respective communities?



CHAPTER TWO

WHAT PEOPLE BELIEVE MAKES A DIFFERENCE

THE VARIED BEHAVIOR PATTERNS of the people who make up communities are the visible indicators of basic values and beliefs. In a large measure, people act differently because they believe different things; likewise, they tend to take on similar operational characteristics when they share convictions. One's beliefs do not remain obscure when one must act; they are revealed in the action one takes. Without basic convictions, a person's actions lack purpose and meaningful direction. The beliefs and values of a person who is unwilling to participate in community affairs can have little effect upon community life.

One feels that one "knows" and "understands" one's friends and neighbors because they do not change radically from one day to the next. As a person is confronted by new experiences and problems he draws heavily upon his previous encounters with similar issues and circumstances. Consequently, a certain stability is evidenced in his actions. He may solve a new problem in a unique manner, but the solution will rarely depart too far from his understanding of and experience with similar situations. For this reason, a person's behavior tends to fall into recognizable patterns of operation, patterns that reflect his best judgment concerning what is "good" or "best" for his personal welfare and the progress of his community.

As you take a careful look at your community, you can readily identify certain people who are remarkably consistent in their actions and beliefs. On the other hand, some appear to vacillate freely from one position on some issues to a contradictory stand on others. It is this latter kind of person who is often accused of drifting through life without beliefs or convictions. However, it is possible, and often true, that the outwardly inconsistent person is perfectly consistent within his own frame of reference—that is, within his own pattern of self-interest, which justifies all actions in terms of expediency.

Consistency among personal beliefs is unfortunately a virtue that all people do not possess. There are strong cultural pressures that tend to compartmentalize beliefs and actions. Moreover, people often demonstrate inconsistent behavior because they lack information or because they have never taken the time to think through what they believe. Nevertheless, even the person who acts in a grossly inconsistent fashion tends to adhere to a characteristic pattern of behavior.

The basic question, then, is not whether one shall act in accordance with one's basic beliefs or disregard them entirely. Rather, it is a matter of recognizing that the kind of beliefs one holds and the nature of the operational patterns that emerge as a reflection of these beliefs, influences greatly the potential that one has for working effectively with one's fellow men.

As issues arise and activities are launched in communities, conflicting and contradictory proposals are often advanced. Generally, these differences in opinion reflect operational beliefs that are basically in conflict. Have you ever heard observations like these?

"I just don't think a highway through here would be good for us; it would destroy our little residential town."

"What this community needs is to be in the main stream of things. That new highway will put us on the map if it comes through town."

Such commonplace statements are indicative of divergent, yet equally honest, convictions concerning the type of developments that will result in community betterment. They represent, more-

over, the kinds of beliefs that often constitute the basis of bitter rivalry for the power of decision.

People hold operational beliefs with regard to every conceivable area of community living, including government and its function, religion, economic conditions, education, finance, business, and social progress in general. Here is what a few people are saying in one community.

"I don't think the government should get into such things as social security."

"The government should adopt some plan for providing medical care for the needy."

"In my opinion, a man should lay up savings for hard times."

"I'm going to vote for the Dixiecrats and protect States' rights."

"I agree with my preacher about building onto our church."

"I have never had to borrow money for my business and I don't believe in deficit spending."

"The trouble with our schools is they don't teach children to be good citizens."

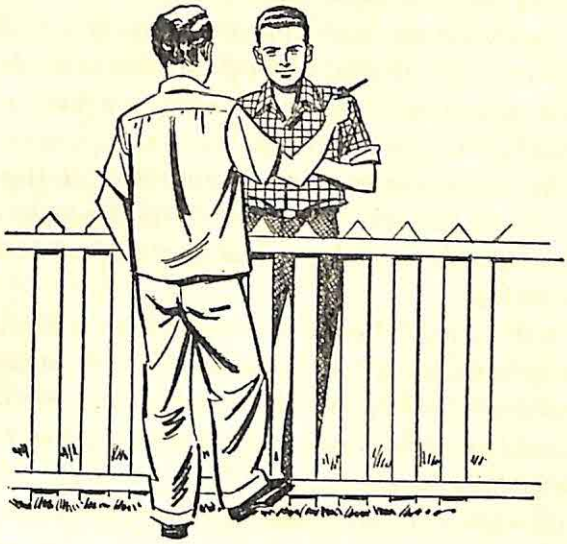
"In my opinion, a man should stand on his own two feet without help from others."

These are samples of the statements people make about different areas of community living. Although brief excerpts from a conversation do not reveal a complete picture, they are, nevertheless, highly suggestive of the operational beliefs the speakers hold. These are the kinds of beliefs that have the power to make important changes in communities. They touch all areas of associated living and add up to each person's definition of the "good life."

YOU CAN'T FENCE IN BELIEFS

If one were to visit the small industrial town of Fairway, the first person one would hear about would be Joe Grimes. Joe is president of the Seneca Realty Company and enjoys the reputation of being Fairway's most prosperous real estate dealer, but it is not his business success alone that makes him one of Fairway's outstanding citizens. Even more important is his aggressive stand on civic issues—that is, the definiteness of his beliefs and the determination

with which he pursues his convictions. People often disagree with Joe, but they generally respect him for his interest in civic affairs.



When the issue of school consolidation arose in Fairway, Joe was one of the first people to move into action. He talked with many people before the issue was resolved, but one of his first contacts was Ralph Mason, Superintendent of Schools. It was an experience for Superintendent Mason that gave him new and revealing insights into Joe Grimes's pattern of operational beliefs. This is the superintendent's story.

"I met Joe Grimes on the street yesterday and found him to be greatly disturbed over developments in our community. The manner of his greeting and the look of urgency on his face made me realize that it would not be a waste of my time to spend an hour or so talking with him.

"When we were seated comfortably in Joe's office on the second floor of the Fairway Bank and Trust building, we began to review some of our community's problems. With determination Joe opened the conversation by exclaiming, 'I don't like the proposal of the board of education to consolidate our elementary schools. In fact, I don't like it even a little bit!' He went on to explain his

position by emphasizing the importance of the individual child and citing the effectiveness with which the small schools trained individuals. One of his statements was, 'We need to teach each child the three R's and keep him close to nature where he will not learn to depend on others.' In elaborating on this point he said, 'I'm telling you now that this action will destroy our little communities where red-blooded Americans are born and can prosper. We have too much of this business of consolidating and destroying human dignity and resourcefulness. We want to train people to take care of themselves and not be too dependent on the county seat, the state capital, or Washington.'

"As I listened to Joe I began to realize that the school board's proposal was a basic affront to his beliefs. It apparently meant a partial destruction of the 'good life' as he conceived it. I also recalled his actions in the past and the many times I had heard people say, 'Oh! Joe Grimes is just opposed to everything. He is against any and all changes.' I had also heard people express the opinion that he was insincere, but I began to wonder as he proceeded to outline his beliefs.

"Joe soon got around to the other problems facing our community and his comments struck the same familiar note. 'Now there's a group of people in town who want to build a library by using state funds, and we've got to get busy and stop them. What they don't seem to realize is that we've got so much state control now that it's almost impossible for a man to pull himself up by his own boot straps. There used to be a time when a man could get ahead by sticking to the good old live-and-let-live philosophy.'

"After mapping out a plan of strategy to defeat the proposed library, Joe proceeded to elaborate further on his theory of government. 'All of this bungling around with federal and state subsidies has put us in debt and in my way of thinking we shouldn't operate in the red. By George! I never had a debt in my business and furthermore I won't have any. A pay-as-you-go plan is the only sensible thing. The government should be operated just like a business. It ought to get out of things that private enterprise can do cheaper and confine its operations to protecting us.' High taxes,

looming debts, government intervention into the affairs of private enterprise, and the destruction of rural communities were topics that continually recurred in our conversation.

"I suddenly realized," the Fairway superintendent continued, "that Joe's beliefs added up to a whole and that what he thought about education was somehow related to his convictions in the areas of government and finance. Before this, I had looked just at education and school problems, not realizing that Joe's beliefs in all areas of community living consistently reflected a 'rugged individualist' point of view. Here was a clear-cut belief in absolute liberty—freedom from government intervention, conservatism in financial matters, and an educational program designed to foster and perpetuate an individualistic concept of life. These are the things I learned about Joe Grimes in one afternoon. I now know that the totality of Joe's beliefs portrays a distinctive pattern of operation. Never again will I make the mistake of assuming that people—at least those who are community leaders—think one way about schools, a distinctly different way about churches, and still another way about government."

Superintendent Mason gained some new insights into the beliefs which provide a mooring for Joe Grimes's actions, but he also realized that all people tend to adhere rather closely to an identifiable pattern of operation. A person's pattern of operation cannot be clearly understood without exploring his beliefs in all areas of community living. Social, economic, religious, educational, governmental, and other areas of belief are meaningful only when they are seen as a whole. The Joe Grimeses and John Scotts are, after all, complete persons—not one-fifth or one-third persons. They look at community problems not in segments but in terms of a totality of operational beliefs.

A civic issue is generally an occasion for decisive action. Consequently, it creates a setting in which the over-all character of a person's accepted pattern of operation is clearly revealed. Joe Grimes did not reach his decision with regard to school consolidation on the basis of an isolated or segmented belief about schools. Rather, he weighed the proposal in the balance of his total pattern

of beliefs. Since he believed in an individualistic society, he could come to no other decision—he had to oppose the consolidation of schools.

Of course, in the final analysis other people might support Joe in his fight for the preservation of the small rural school for quite different reasons. Joe's set of convictions pointed to a given solution to the problem for him, but it would be a mistake to conclude that the individualistic pattern is the only one that would create opposition to a program of this type. Each person's operational pattern would have to be examined on its own merits.

In Joe's case the decision to fight the consolidation proposal was a direct outgrowth of several related beliefs that he held. The consolidation of educational facilities would mean the accumulation of public debts, in which he did not believe. Moreover, Joe believed in small, decentralized communities, and he felt that it would be a tragedy for such communities to lose their schools. He firmly believed that each person should manage his own affairs, and he had observed the tendency of people in small rural communities to place a high value on the attribute of independence and self-reliance. For these and other reasons, Joe Grimes became an avid opponent of the school board's proposal to eliminate the small schools. Taking everything into consideration, he looked upon educational policies as means by which his concept of the most beneficial way of life would be either helped or destroyed. Consequently, his total pattern of accepted beliefs was operative when the school issue arose.

The same principle, of course, applies to issues arising in any other area of community living. One can never successfully confine operational beliefs to particular areas. If such an attempt is made, it is made at the risk of gross misunderstandings. It would be like saying that the study of sociology is unrelated to psychology or that economics has little to do with political science. The beliefs of a person who can generally influence others are interwoven into a meaningful pattern of assumptions concerning the means by which the "best" city, county, state, and nation might be realized. Such beliefs rarely, if ever, stand alone.

There are many different patterns of operational beliefs in all communities. The individualistic pattern, represented by Joe Grimes, is at one end of a continuum. In Joe's own community there are other people who conscientiously act on the basis of different assumptions. Clarence Bailey is one such person. If you were to listen in on a few conversations in Fairway you would soon hear such remarks as, "Clarence really got Joe told in the City Council last night," or "Joe sure caught Clarence off guard on the tax issue." Why, one would wonder, is the action that Clarence takes so different from that of Joe Grimes?

The answer to this question becomes clearer when you walk into Clarence Bailey's thriving business establishment. The first thing

to attract your attention is the modern and artistically arranged displays, and you are also impressed by the eagerness and enthusiasm of the salesmen who promptly appear on the scene. The immediate impression you get is that Clarence Bailey's business represents a bold, and apparently successful, effort to employ the most up-to-date merchandising practices.

If this is Clarence Bailey's creation, you might speculate, what kind of a person is he? You would not have to obtain this information second-hand. Clarence Bailey likes people and enjoys nothing more than discussing his community and its problems. After your

first contact with him, he probably would launch into a discussion of Fairway's most timely issue—school consolidation. This is what he has had to say about the matter on numerous occasions.

"Honestly, I don't see why some of our city fathers are so opposed to school consolidation. The trouble with those little schools is that they don't give the kids a chance to grow socially. Some of the one-room schools just have a handful of neighborhood children, and I don't see how they can possibly learn to get along with all kinds of people. You just can't teach youngsters to live together and cooperate in those little two-by-four buildings! Besides, the small schools can't offer the same courses and activities that the big schools can. One teacher just couldn't do it, even if she wanted to. I'll tell you, we've just got to eliminate these small school units and give all children a broad program of education at public expense. It's the only right thing to do."

Clarence's pointed opinions on this educational problem have often served as a springboard for a discussion of other community issues. In recent years he has been an ardent supporter of a proposal to expand the public health department; he has also fought for a new street pavement program, a federally subsidized hospital, and a junior college. He has often said, "I think the government should make provisions for such things. We will simply have to borrow money and raise taxes in order to secure these additional services for people." When his projects are defeated Clarence's customary explanation is, "You just can't get people to work together on such things. We could build a real community if people would only develop a feeling of mutual assistance. Some of these old fogies don't want to spend a dime, regardless of how badly new services are needed."

As Clarence's actions are reviewed with reference to his varied interests in community improvement, they consistently reveal a unique pattern of operational beliefs. He firmly believes in an interdependent concept of life, and he enjoys a unique freedom that results from dependence upon mutual assistance. His belief in a broad government function, ambitious financial policies, and an

expanded school program is consistent with this pattern of interdependence. Thus, one can see why Joe Grimes and Clarence Bailey hold radically different points of view about civic issues. Their operational beliefs are incompatible and steer them unavoidably toward ideological collision.

A man's accepted operational beliefs should form the basis for his actions with regard to community problems. Our beliefs are the glasses through which we observe "progress." To Joe Grimes progress has been attained when a new milestone is reached leading toward the rugged individualistic concept of democracy. Clarence Bailey, on the other hand, bemoans the "turning back of the clock" in each such instance. Thus, two diametrically opposed definitions of progress exist in the same community.

In recognition of the beliefs that guide their actions, most people are assigned certain "labels." Joe Grimes is spoken of by many in his community as a very "conservative" person; whereas Clarence Bailey is often referred to as a "liberal" or a very progressive leader. Other people are considered to be "middle-of-the-roaders," persons who are cautious. All such terms have broad meanings and interpretations that vary from community to community. Stereotyping such as this can be a dangerous practice and a barrier to a complete understanding of a person's motivations. However, it is a universal means by which people denote various patterns of beliefs, and these beliefs result in corresponding patterns of action on the part of individuals and communities.

COMMUNITIES POSSESS A SPREAD OF BELIEFS

The range of acceptable beliefs within a given community is not infinity. Shared convictions provide the hard core of unity that makes community life possible. Hence, it is important that communities not be viewed solely in terms of the individual citizens who reside there; rather, one should look for common denominators and relative differences in operational patterns. Consequently, a person's effectiveness, particularly as a leader, would tend to be governed by the relationship his beliefs have to the convictions that guide the actions of other community residents.

In any community there may be many or few who adhere to an "individualistic" pattern of operational beliefs; there may be others who approach community problems with an "interdependent" pattern of operational beliefs, and still others may hold "middle-of-the-road" beliefs that are not entirely in accord with those of either extreme. Could one, therefore, look at communities in terms of the extent to which certain patterns of operation are acceptable to and shared by the people who live there?

The Tompkinsville Civic Club quite unexpectedly had to face this question recently. The club had demonstrated very effective leadership in stimulating the interest of community residents in a state-wide community improvement contest sponsored by the state association of newspaper editors. The club had outlined things to be done, had mobilized community residents to get them done, and had pitched in to give assistance where it was needed. Now, after months of hard work, Tompkinsville had a new look and a new morale. Whether Tompkinsville even placed in the contest or not, the community had nothing to lose. As the Tompkinsville Civic Club met in its regular business session, the members were somewhat relaxed. Most of the work was done. The promotion of this project had been a time- and energy-consuming task. They were engaged in discussing a proposed itinerary for the judges who would come to rate the community. It was at this point in the meeting of these men, who were a rather homogeneous group, that some perfectly amazing points of view concerning the community with which they were all so familiar came to light.

Al Stodgehill, who lived half a mile west of the Tompkinsville High School, suggested taking the judges through that entire section of the town and even somewhat beyond the actual city limits. J. R. West suggested a route that virtually corresponded to the area Al had omitted. Euclid Cousins tried to be more specific and stated quite frankly why he would send them to particular places. Said Euclid: "Let's don't take them out to Green Hills. Sure, I know that there are some nice-looking places out there, but that bunch wouldn't cooperate with us. Never have on anything we've tried." No sooner had Euclid made this statement than another member

spoke out to the effect that the Green Hills residents were not the only ones who had dragged their heels on this venture.

As the chairman of the improvement contest committee sketched the various itineraries proposed on a map of Tompkinsville, and as he listened to reasons the men offered in defending their choice of a particular route, he suddenly realized that these overlapping, irregular lines represented a unique picture of his community. The picture actually represented various patterns of beliefs that had in turn affected the actions of the people in those areas. Some had chosen to participate and others had not for reasons equally important to them. Although the chairman who made this observation was forced to push on toward actually arriving at a satisfactory itinerary, this observation that he made might be further elaborated.

The number of people who subscribe to a similar pattern of operational beliefs has much to do with the kinds of activities in which communities will engage. The intensity with which beliefs are held and the social status of the people who hold them are also powerful conditioning factors. However, a first concern in sizing up a community is to detect the range of beliefs and the approximate proportions of the population that give allegiance to the various operational patterns.

Suppose that most of the people in a community hold an "interdependent" pattern of operational beliefs, a few adhere to an "individualistic" pattern, and the remainder subscribe to beliefs that fall between these extremes. The spread of beliefs might, then, be indicated graphically as in Figure 1.

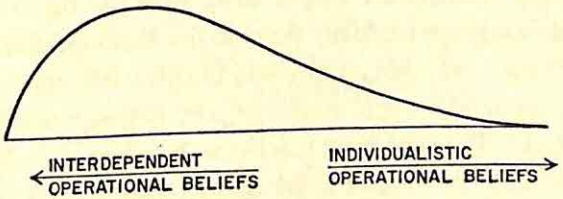


Figure 1

Such a community could normally be expected to move in only one direction in matters over which the bulk of the people exercise

the power of decision. One might expect this hypothetical community to have a broad definition of the function of local government, liberal financial policies, and an educational system geared to the development and perpetuation of an interdependent concept of democracy. The community would probably encounter little resistance in moving in this direction, simply because most of the people believe in the concept of interdependence.

However, when a bi-modal spread of beliefs occurs, as shown in Figure 2, one cannot be so positive in predicting the direction in which the community will move. It is apparent that opinion in this community is divided, and that serious conflicts might manifest

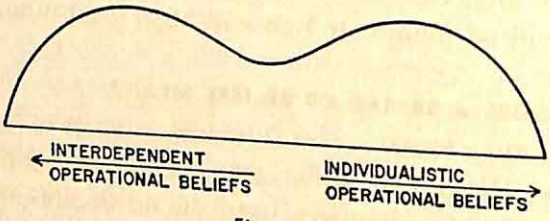


Figure 2

themselves when major decisions must be made. This split in operational beliefs may tend to produce a dual leadership structure of the sort that can seriously hinder any total community development program. On the other hand, such a condition might conceivably greatly stimulate community progress if competition between groups is kept constructive through mutual respect or even mutual fear of each other.

If a community's beliefs are heavily weighted in favor of the individualistic concept of life, (Figure 3) one could expect life in

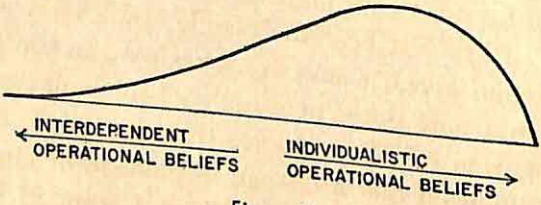


Figure 3

this community to be quite different from life in the two illustrated previously. The tendency would be for governmental services to be limited, financial policies and programs to be more conservative, and the educational program to stress student competition.

The three simple illustrations given above represent vastly different distributions of operational beliefs within communities. Of course, many other combinations of beliefs may be found that do not correspond to these diagrams. Regardless of the exact form of the distribution, however, the beliefs that are shared by the majority of a community's residents have a profound influence on almost every aspect of daily living. It is also possible that communities could be represented on still other continuums.

WHAT DOES A SPREAD OF BELIEFS MEAN?

Most conscientious citizens want their communities to become better places in which to live with each successive year. Trousdale County, in one of the Southern states, is no exception, and Judge Gilbert Powell can attest to the kinds of improvements the people envision.

"Hardly a day passes without some individual or group dropping into my office to make suggestions about how things can be improved around here. One group feels that the county should erect a tobacco warehouse and lease it to some interested concern. The Chamber of Commerce is even more specific in its suggestion that Trousdale needs to attract a hosiery mill through special tax inducements. The Farm Bureau is pushing for improved farm-to-market roads, and the Woman's Club is demanding a renovation of the county library building. If I wrote the suggestions down, the list would be practically endless, and it would continue to grow day by day. I can just hear the people now—'what we need is a cotton gin around here,' 'a new street paving program would fix us up,' 'if we could only get a new high school building, everybody would benefit from it.' You can see that the people of Trousdale County are convinced that a change in physical or tangible things will make for a better life, but sometimes I wonder! How much

better off would they really be if we could just wave a magic wand and make reality of these suggestions?"

Judge Powell has a legitimate concern for the means by which fundamental progress is achieved. If it is true that a person's operational beliefs greatly influence his actions and that community action is, in turn, a reflection of the collective beliefs of people, can lasting improvement result without a change in operational concepts? Will a change in "things" necessarily effect a change in beliefs and actions?

One might examine how a new high school building would improve living in Trousdale County. If the building were erected, the people would, of course, feel justly proud of their accomplishment. However, suppose that the teachers were to continue with the same program that had been in effect in the old building. If the school served the same purposes—performed the identical functions—would living really be improved in Trousdale County?

The answer to this question is obvious. The new building would give the teachers and children more healthful and more pleasant surroundings, but the unchanged school program would tend to have the same effect on students as before. Only if the new building were accompanied by a serious effort to change community conceptions about education could one expect the school program to have a significantly different impact on the lives of the people it serves.

In like manner, the location of a factory, a warehouse, or a cotton gin in Trousdale County might appear on the surface to be a basic improvement. Yet, unless real changes in socio-economic beliefs accompany the development of such a new enterprise, the lives of many people in the community might not undergo any positive change.

If "things" alone would change the lives of people, community improvement would be rather simple. One could simply make technological developments available to communities everywhere—even in a country such as India—and a corresponding change would occur in community living standards. Even the backwardness of a native village in Africa could suddenly be changed by introducing new devices.

Progress in human development is not this simple. One does not change people completely by rearranging tangibles. The people of India would continue to hold to their present way of life and openly reject the alleged advances of the Western civilization. The same would also be true of the African village. A set of fine cooking utensils might appear to be an adequate replacement for an old iron

kettle; however, even such simple changes as these might be used in strange ways by people who had little understanding of their place in another cultural setting. An aluminum pan might be used by the African native to feed chickens or pigs, to make a new tom-tom or ornamental jewelry. To him this would not be illogical. In a much less dramatic way, American communities sometimes reject technological advances that they do not understand or value.

The use that is made of material things reflects a total pattern of beliefs, a pattern that defines and gives meaning to all aspects of life. The Texas rancher views a Brahma bull as so much money—capital on the hoof—but the Hindu has quite a different opinion. Why do people look at the same things so differently and use them in such diverse ways? Apparently their beliefs provide distinctly different orientations to life and they behave in accordance with these beliefs. Cultural change, then, involves more than an alteration in the outward symbols of progress.

Trousdale County might acquire a factory and attempt to fit it into an agarian economy and an agrarian set of operational beliefs. The result would be unfortunate, but people often fail to anticipate the consequences of their actions. They like to copy each other. The people of Trousdale County see that other counties have higher living standards, and the only observable reasons for this better existence are the tangible evidences of progress. Naturally, they leap to the conclusion that a change in "things" will be in the best interests of their community. By so doing they fail to see that the people in the flourishing communities have experienced a change in beliefs—a revolution of ideas concerning how people should live and work together.

If a community's value pattern or composite of operational beliefs serves as a major determinant of community action, one must look for means by which people can re-examine their convictions in order to set forth practical and attainable community goals. This is not easy, for convictions often seem so "logical" and "reasonable" that most people tend to be intolerant of those who reach other conclusions. If someone disagrees with a pet project, he is often accused of being "uninformed," "selfish," or "dishonest." Far too often people fail to realize that their opponents are just as sure they are "right." These human tendencies, however, only serve to underscore the importance of communities' recognizing and dealing realistically with the beliefs that condition and guide all community development projects. With a reasonably accurate assessment of a community's present pattern of operation, it is possible to project sensible and realistic action programs. To the extent that such programs effect changes in the beliefs of people, one can look forward to meaningful and lasting improvements.

BELIEFS ARE THE PUSH BEHIND PEOPLE AND COMMUNITIES

Although it is true that many factors influence community actions, the operational beliefs of people loom to the forefront as a vital force in associated living. They provide the spark for the actions of individuals, groups, and communities; they largely determine what people do and how they go about it. For a given person, they add

up to a meaningful whole, incorporating his convictions in all areas of community life. Community problems rarely, if ever, fall into discrete and unrelated categories. Hence, a person's participation in civic affairs rests heavily upon a unified body of concepts that he has found to be personally satisfying and workable.

Likewise, the collective behavior of many persons tends to reflect their shared beliefs and their common experience with a variety of problems. Within communities there are differences in operational beliefs, but there are also likenesses. Consequently, an awareness of the number of people who react to civic issues in a similar way is important. This is why an effort to identify and understand the total range of a community's operational beliefs is usually such a productive point of departure in civic improvement activities.

Of course, all the beliefs that make up an individual's or a community's total pattern of operation do not deserve the same emphasis. A man's beliefs are related, but he prizes some more highly than others. In other words, it makes a difference how strongly a person feels about a particular issue, problem, or course of action. In like manner, community action is conditioned by the relative intensity of certain shared beliefs. In a showdown a person might compromise on certain points, whereas on others he would adhere tenaciously to his beliefs.

In many communities one finds that the beliefs people hold have set goals that are already in the process of achievement. It may be that the major obstacle, therefore, does not lie in the area of projecting goals or worth-while community objectives but in discovering means of putting into practice projects that can be accomplished readily without any change of concepts or beliefs but simply by utilizing more technical skill in community development.

Regardless of these complexities, however, one need not treat operational beliefs as unwelcome guests when community problems arise. They constitute a natural force that must be acknowledged whether one wishes to acknowledge it or not. As the major force behind individuals and communities, such beliefs are a promising key for understanding and directing community development and progress. For communities to attempt to make lasting improve-

ments without altering the beliefs and opinions of people is inconceivable. To strive constantly for a critical examination of the beliefs that underlie community actions is to point the way toward individual growth—and as individual citizens grow, so do communities.

CHAPTER THREE

SOME PEOPLE EMERGE AS LEADERS

MOST PEOPLE like to talk about others—their friends, their acquaintances, and those who have gained local prominence. These casual off-the-cuff comments admittedly reflect subjective value judgments. Such opinions are formulated on the basis of what people know about other people from experience and observation, what they have heard about them, and what they want to believe about them. Moreover, everyone knows that people become topics of conversations for quite different reasons, and what is said about them likewise varies greatly.

Lois Mitchell is talked about because she is simply the best subject for idle gossip. From telephone to telephone goes the word: "You know that pretty Lois Mitchell, don't you—

whose husband was taken away about eight months ago in that awful wreck? Well, they say that she went out with that Pollock boy last night. Isn't that awful? I just don't un-

derstand some people." Lois Mitchell had lived a rather normal life for 27 years. She had had her share of joys and sorrows. Now, suddenly she was the focal point of community interest.

Other comments heard here and there in virtually any community give one the impression that some people are better known simply because they are more central to the hub of community life than others, some are valued more by large groups of people, some are in a position to influence large segments of the community's population. Remarks pertaining to these people have a different ring:

"I've always said that we could trust Jack Smith's judgment on such things."

"We'll have to wait and see what Jim Nobanks will do on this question."

"I never do anything until I have talked with Judge Myers."

"Ralph Judson has meant more to this community than any other ten men I know of. I haven't got the time to find out all about this. I'll just take whatever stand he takes."

What do such comments as these mean? How did the people referred to in these statements get such wide recognition? Obviously, some people are relied upon more than others, some are evidently more adept at getting things done, some people are leaders. Moreover, there are reasons why they have more influence than other community residents.

SOME INFLUENCE STEMS FROM TANGIBLE ASSETS

A difference in the potential amount of influence that various persons within any community can exert might be readily observable. Not all persons, however, are situated by virtue of where they live and what they do in such a way that they can observe that particular persons have considerably more influence than others over the actions of the community. Being in a public office in the community gives a person more knowledge of these differences. For this reason, Dale Billingsly of Lakesboro can talk very understandingly about the differences of community residents in their standing or ability to influence others. He is a magistrate in a large rural county.

The "Squire," as people in Lakesboro refer to him, speaks as one who knows about the people in his county. He can foretell what probably will be done about things by finding out first what particular people are going to do. He knows the "key men" and appears to be in a position to know what they think about most county issues. It is quite obvious that he has a far greater grasp of a man's ability to influence others than does John Willowby, who has never held a public office. In fact, the Squire seems to know more about the relative influence of individual citizens than 80 per cent of the people in Oxford County.

This being true, one can easily conclude that Squire Billingsly's standing is different from that of a majority of the people in Lakesboro or in the county at large. The Squire is a member of Oxford County's central governing body. He has one vote on matters that must be decided. This makes him important to those wishing to influence the outcome of an issue. He feels pressures. He is aware of who exerts them. To influence such a person as Squire Billingsly is vastly more important to some vested interests than to influence the ordinary citizen, who takes little interest in things and who does not hold public office. Therefore, the Squire has greater status in this respect than those who have never held public office. It is evident that official position in local government is a factor that explains part of the difference in the standing of people in the county. This would be true of any elected or appointive position. A public official possesses some influence himself and can identify other influential people more readily than the average citizen.

Why the Squire became a public official is a fit subject for much conjecture. He must have had certain personal assets at his command as well as other ties which enabled him to attain his position. Thus, one must search still further for reasons underlying a person's ability to influence.

When one talks with Squire Billingsly, other factors that are significant in enabling him to influence others are readily detected. The Squire recently talked with a group of people about conditions in Oxford County. During the informal conversation, he said, "It's hard for anybody except the Collinses and the Chadwicks to get

of a person in order to arrive at a more accurate estimate of his influence. These less obvious factors are crucial. Unless a person possesses them, he will never reach his maximum development as a leader.

THE LESS OBVIOUS THINGS ARE IMPORTANT

When one carefully studies persons such as Jake Chadwick and Ben Collins, some rather important factors in their day-to-day living appear. Their decisions about matters suggest a particular way of living. They have a faith in a way of life to which they ascribe the well-worn term "the good life." Jake Chadwick can readily make personal decisions about rather important problems. Other persons who have the ability to influence people seem to have a definiteness concerning where they are going and why. When compared with the quality of opinions held by persons who have little status in the community, the quality of convictions held by such persons as Jake Chadwick and Ben Collins stands out in bold relief. These men know what they are *for* and what they are *against* in community life. Furthermore, they can give consistent reasons for their positions.

If a community is faced with a major issue that has created considerable concern on the part of people generally, many of the people will have difficulty in stating why they feel as they do about the issue. A few may make such indifferent statements as, "Frankly, I don't know what should be done," or "Well, I take little stock in such things and don't have much of an opinion about it right now." A few people, however, will not only state enthusiastically what action they are taking but also support their positions by elaborating on why this course of action seems most feasible. This latter group of people inevitably tend to have a greater status than persons who cannot clearly state their positions and the reasons that justify them. People who have the ability to influence others seem to know where they are going and why. They do not dilly-dally in the process of making a personal decision about a community problem. In other words, they have defined and accepted some ideas about what constitutes a good community. They possess some clear-cut operational beliefs that serve as referents when controversial matters arise.

They make decisions in terms of these beliefs, and the beliefs, in turn, become the reasons supporting their actions.

The importance of operational beliefs in community life was discussed at length in the previous chapter. Much was said to illustrate the fact that most people in a community have operational beliefs that guide their actions. Such operational beliefs penetrate all areas of community action. It was pointed out that responsible citizens have usually done a thorough job of self-analysis. They know what they believe in all areas of community living and conscientiously attempt to act upon such beliefs. Influential persons appear to be very proficient not only in stating what they believe but also in governing their actions in accordance with their beliefs. Furthermore, they appear to champion most of the beliefs, opinions, and customs that most people conceive to be decent, sensible, and right. In fact, these persons can best represent, best follow through, and best verbalize a way of life of which many other people of their community would approve.

There is an obvious consistency of action when one conscientiously acts on a self-defined pattern of operational beliefs about community living. People like Jake Chadwick have an interesting consistency in participation in community affairs. This consistency builds trust and reflects a kind of sincerity. People generally fear those persons who flounder about in community life and place little dependence upon them.

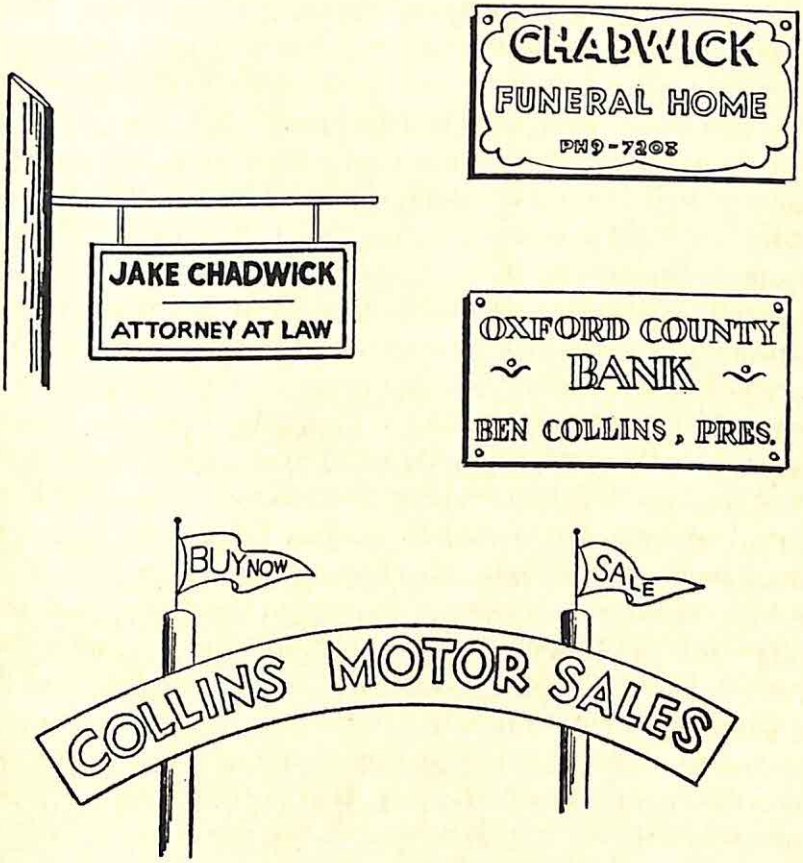
A definite conception of purpose gives one more control and more design over his own life. Judge Bradburn, for example, is one of the most influential persons among the 25,000 persons living in Baker County. Of course, not all of the citizens of Baker County know Judge Bradburn, but a large majority of them do. Even those who know him would probably explain the source of his influence somewhat differently, but the most general opinion expressed would be somewhat as follows: "I expect Judge Bradburn is powerful because he is totally honest, is interested in good communities, has championed good causes, and has never pushed himself on the community. He could have been a millionaire if he had taken advantage of people." This is a very revealing statement about a

ahead any more. If we had about six good funerals around here, we might get some things done." The Squire was of the opinion that the two families "had things their way" in the county. In making these comments, he was singling out family ties as an important factor underlying community and county-wide standing. When one looks at other communities one tends to get the same impression. Particular family relationships give some people more esteem than others. In some communities these family ties give people a rather stable kind of influence over others—making their standing prominent. Of course, the social columns of local newspapers frequently reflect these family ties and some editors feature them as news of particular interest.

Squire Billingsly is aware of still other things that give particular people more prestige and more personal power than others in Lakesboro and Oxford County. He was not content with ending the conversation with general statements about the Collinses and the Chadwicks. He continued by saying, "You see, Jake Chadwick and one of his boys are successful lawyers. In fact, Jake and his son are the best lawyers in the county and have helped a lot of people." Thus, it seems that the Squire placed much emphasis on the fact that the Chadwicks were lawyers. His opinion points out that one's profession or occupation can bring one status in a social setting. However, Squire Billingsly placed equal emphasis on the fact that the Chadwicks were *successful* lawyers. Success in one's occupation is necessary for widely recognized status. The Squire continued his remarks by saying, "Now most of the Collinses are good businessmen and have made a lot of money, but also they inherited a fortune from their fathers." Clearly, wealth—or at least financial means that raise one's income considerably beyond that necessary to buy the necessities of life—also figures as a component of influence; it is a supplement to business and professional success, as the Squire's statement indicates.

The Squire clinched the point that the Chadwicks and Collinses were in a position to influence many county and community residents when he added: "In fact, Ben Collins is president of the only bank in town. You see, a lot of people must have some financial

assistance all along. The farmers have to borrow money in the spring. When that bank once gets a person in debt to them, they have him for life. They have the capital to influence a lot of things."



Squire Billingsly acknowledges still other significant factors in assigning some people more influence than others. For example, there is the more obvious necessity of having a lot of "friends." Some of the more unscrupulous people are none the less influential because of the particular friends they make. Joe Teller is a man who has built up his influence in this manner. Joe is a very close friend of the governor of his state. In fact, he "takes care of the governor's business" in Blaine County. He is in position to give

people state jobs and can get a lot of campaign funds from the state treasurer of his party.

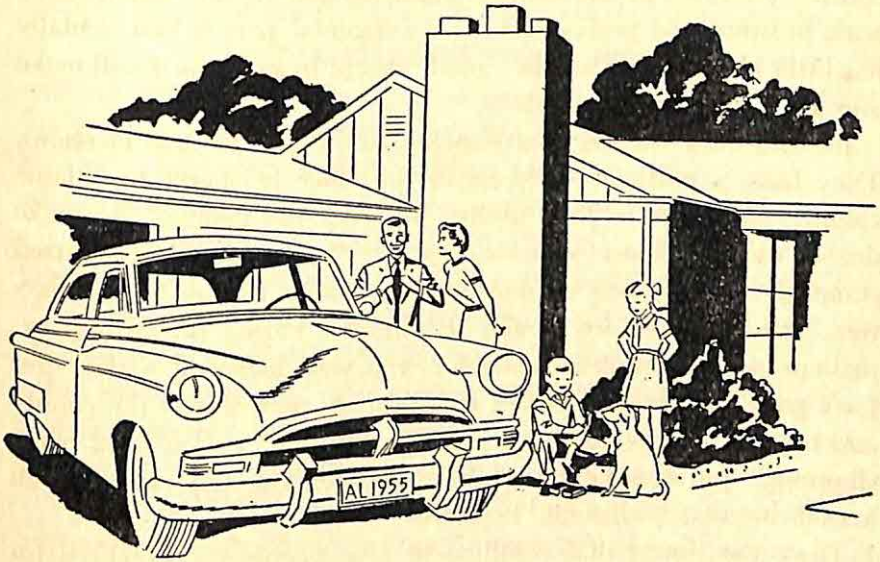
Joe is important because of the "friends" he has made. He has courted the favor of anyone who might be able to help him achieve both prestige and power. He is a congenial person and actually has little idea of what will be "good" except in so far as it will make and keep important "friends."

Joe and his associate, Plez Rancher, know how to steal elections. They have a particular interest in the office of sheriff for Blaine County. Because of Joe's ability "to work the people," "to make deals," and "to know whom to see," he has achieved recognized standing. His influence—questionable though it may be—is effective. His methods are similar to those of Farley Brown—the expedient, self-centered tax collector who was described earlier—but Joe's grasp for personal power and ultimate control over the county and beyond is much more treacherous than Farley's localized back-slapping. Joe would not hesitate to use coercion; he seeks to design a well organized, efficient "machine."

Thus, the things that combine to give people the potential for influencing others are varied and often complex in nature. Official position, family ties, friends, occupational or professional pursuits, and possession and control of wealth are the underlying factors that enable some few people to influence the actions of others. It must be admitted that these factors are comparatively easy to recognize; on the other hand, they are somewhat difficult to come by. Moreover, they must not be accepted as the only important factors that give some people a distinct kind of an advantage. Many wealthy people take little interest in influencing community affairs; many of them could not exert much influence, even if they desired to do so. Not all successful lawyers and other professional persons possess undue influence over other people in their respective communities. In fact, it must be recognized that some people achieve the ability to exert considerable influence who have little wealth, who have no ties with influential families, who have never held public office.

In the face of such evidence, it appears that one's standing with other people may result from more complex factors than those

pointed out already. For example, why does Jake Chadwick, a lawyer, have so much more influence than James Nash, who is just



as successful at the bar? Why is it that Ben Collins is so much more important in the eyes of community residents than the other "Collins boys"? If family ties were an all-important factor, would not the Collins boys have equal community standing?

Wealth, family ties, official position, professional standing, and binding friendships are in a very real sense tangible factors; they can be determined rather easily. Evidence of them exists in the form of a beautiful home, an expensive automobile, a four-column spread on the society page, membership in a professional fraternity, an invitation to an "at home" or cocktails, a get-together for a party or a show, an unlimited credit rating, or an opportunity to participate in a Sunday School project. When pointed out by such evidence as this, the factors mentioned above are not unrelated to the possession and exercise of influence or power. Yet they do not tell the whole story. One must look at more intangible characteristics

community leader. It shows that this man had self-imposed checks. He had ideals or beliefs that channeled his living, and these things helped to make him an influential person.

If one were to continue to talk with people about Judge Bradburn, one would detect a continued affirmation of the Judge's conception of community life and how his actions reflected this point of view. Such an emphasis would be found in statements very similar to this one. "Well, the Judge knows what he's doing and has always fought for the good things in life. You never have to worry about things when he is around. He'll do right. His action is a matter of public record and we can depend upon it." Thus, the holding of clear-cut ideas concerning people, personal and public finances, the community in general, what constitutes progress, and other aspects of life is an important ingredient in achieving and maintaining personal power among other people. There is nothing more frustrating than attempting to work with a person who "jumps from pillar to post" on important matters. Few people who act in this manner achieve real personal influence. The only way such a person can achieve any importance among people is by "selling his soul" to an influential person, by acting as a scapegoat for a power group, or by sheer chance (for example, by having more influence attributed to him than he himself realizes).

It is true that some people, such as Farley Brown or Joe Teller, both previously mentioned, often achieve some status in community life by exploiting their "friends." However, even these persons generally rely rather heavily upon particular friends who have ideals. The Farley Browns and the Joe Tellers in communities will seldom take action on a community issue until they have seen certain other people. Thus they build their prestige not only on the basis of their known friendship with other men of influence but also by relying indirectly upon the operational beliefs of other people.

Those who know where they are going in all phases of community life usually are sure of themselves because they base their courses of action on their own operational beliefs about community life. They can say to themselves, "I'll take this action, I'll support this man, I'll take this position in reference to an issue because this par-

ticular action, man, or position is consistent with what I think a community ought to be." It goes without being said that these ideas about community life that are held by persons of influence are constantly being brought into play. They are not a set of flowing objectives or high-flung terms. Do you know why you take certain actions in your community? Persons who really have influence in communities generally have very little trouble answering this question.

CONCEPTIONS OF THE PEOPLE COUNT

Out of the complexity of community life, some residents achieve greater status than other residents. They emerge as community leaders. These leaders are the possessors of noteworthy personal power, and their lives can make an important contribution to community living. Some of the factors, both tangible and intangible, that cause particular persons to emerge as leaders have been discussed and illustrated. In the final analysis, leadership results from what people believe about particular candidates for leadership. Much of a leader's prestige and much of his personal power stems from the conceptions other people have about him. Their respect for him and their willingness to cooperate with him ultimately stem from what they think he is really like, from what they think he actually stands for, and from what they think he can do for them as individuals and as a community.

The recent illustration of Judge Bradburn of Baker County, who was so highly respected by most of the people there, may be drawn upon again to point out that recognizing the Judge as an influential leader and agreeing with his position are different things. Bill Worth, for example, has a very pronounced opinion of the Judge. He puts it this way: "It sometimes looks like we are heading into a Bradburn dictatorship. He's a key figure in a group that wants to keep things as they are—a bunch of old sourheads who will not agree to progressive change." Even though Bill Worth does not agree with the social policy that Judge Bradburn's leadership represents, he still recognizes the fact that the Judge is a forceful leader, a power to be reckoned with in community affairs.

The conceptions people hold of a leader figure as an important source of his influence. It is immediately apparent that Bill Worth would actively oppose Judge Bradburn at every turn. Moreover, Bill would not knowingly contribute toward making the Judge a more influential man than he is. Other persons who were less informed might support the Judge, even against their own interests. More than one person, for example, would unhesitatingly reveal this conception of the Judge: "I have never thought too much about whether the Judge is really an influential person or not. But I am sure he is. I have always found him to be an able person. You can depend on him to make the best judgment in terms of the information he has. We know a lot of good things he's done and anybody will have to admit that he's a gentleman." Such statements reveal that the speaker himself has very little conception of the Judge's position as a community leader. He trusts the Judge because he seems to be a person who consistently acts for those things which seem sensible and because he seems to be a decent man. The real question is, of course, what is the meaning of sensible? What constitutes a sensible plan of community development? Bill Worth recognized and respected the Judge's influence, but disagreed with him on the question of social policy—the nature of community improvement.

In the final analysis, most people admire and respect those who act in harmony with the principles they consider to be "sensible," "good," "sound," or "progressive." As indicated above, some people are able to define specifically why they perceive such action to be "good." Other people may not have taken time to analyze carefully why—upon what fundamental beliefs—a particular course of action seems to be "good" or "bad." Perhaps herein lies one basic difference between leaders and non-leaders.

LEADERS EMERGE TO TAKE A POSITION

When a civic issue faces a community, various leaders emerge to assume particular roles in community life. They do not propose the same solution to the issue. Usually the clamor for decision grows and grows, and each leader begins to rally supporters and seeks to

influence the outcome. Often one is appalled by what appears to be a complete lack of agreement among the leaders and their respective supporters. Even the more influential leaders cannot seem to get together. They appear to be moving in different directions. Eventually the various proposals become somewhat clearer, and community residents everywhere can react more specifically to what seems to them to be the most logical solution.

The various leaders and the positions each is supporting are judged by the bulk of community residents. To them some of these positions may seem "risky," "a crackpot idea," or "a fly-by-night scheme." Other plans might be considered as "safe," "a sure course," or "the logical thing to do." That is, a position may be thought to be sound or radical, acceptable or not acceptable, or simply the best available solution. Community leaders become identified with the positions they hold in reference to those issues or their concepts of community progress, and they, too, either win the support of the majority of people or alienate it. All of these judgments made by community residents in regard to solutions to civic issues, the nature of community progress, and reliable leadership stem directly from the community's cultural values or patterns of operational beliefs.

If a community can be described as one that gives allegiance to a basically independent philosophy, it might describe as "radical" or "very extreme" a plan that in some other community would be regarded by the people there as being "the usual run of events," or "nothing to get excited about." As described in the preceding chapter, a community might also be characteristically interdependent. A community with this point of view might label a well-meaning leader as a "dictator" when he was merely trying to act in terms of what he thought was for the best interest of the community. Thus, the actions of leaders are interpreted by community residents in view of their own operational beliefs, beliefs that have many dimensions. It is equally true, however, that a leader originally takes his position in view of his own operational beliefs and those of his constituents.

One vivid leadership role, which was described in the first chapter,

is that of the "city father." Unless you examine carefully the operational beliefs of this prototype, you may tend to write him off as a self-centered person who is opposed to any change. Judge Overholt, it will be recalled, is a man of financial means. He has obtained success in a profession that is highly respected. He does generously attempt to meet the needs of his friends and most other community residents. He is thought to be a "good Christian gentleman." Furthermore, he has dignity and reserve; at times he even seems a little bit aloof.

Not only does Judge Overholt possess these characteristics, but he also holds some consistent notions about community life in general. He thinks that community progress depends upon persons who have particular insight and who know how to lead others. He is simply a firm believer in the rugged individualistic concept of democracy. He opposes the numerous moves to curb absolute freedom of the individual. In his opinion, the local government should perform a severely limited function. He is naturally insistent on limited taxation and exceedingly cautious about any public debts. In the final analysis, in his opinion, community affairs should be left up to those few persons who have demonstrated their competence by making a success of their own businesses and personal concerns. The Judge's point of view was summed up in one of his public speeches when he said: "We can't afford all these hospitals, sewage disposal plants, airports, health units, new school buildings, and the like in the first place. In the second place, I don't think it's our purpose to provide such things at public expense. If a man does as he should, he can provide many such services himself. The one-room school I attended did a good job of training me to 'pull myself up by my own boot straps.' It will do the same for anybody who's willing to work."

As a leader in the community, the Judge is following a course of action that to him is consistent and has supreme value. He is dedicated to a way of working, a set of values, and operational beliefs that to him add up to progress. In a community characterized by independence and conservatism, the Judge would be a popular leader whose influence would be far-reaching. In a more interdependent community he would still be recognized as a leader and

exert considerable influence, but his position would be seen in an entirely different context. In all probability, in the latter community he would "go down fighting."

Newell Thompson has been referred to previously as a man who believes in a community characterized by the interdependence of its residents. He is all for expanding local government services. He thinks that small community schools should be consolidated, arguing that consolidation will result in a broader program of opportunities for children. Of course, Newell's conception of developing children "socially" is distinctly different from the Judge's idea of teaching a child how to "pull himself up by his own boot straps." Newell is a great believer in community meetings, and he talks a lot about "cooperation" in such meetings. There is little doubt that he actually believes and acts upon the principle that if enough people really want something they can get it. He says frequently that money should be "put to work."

Judge Overholt and Newell Thompson represent extremes in regard to what really constitutes community policy and social progress. Both men are sincere, and if they lived in the same community they would indubitably be opponents. Many leaders in communities everywhere could find a place somewhere on the continuum that exists between these two men, provided they were sincere in their efforts at community improvement.

An expedient leader, such as Farley Brown, has other motives. He is interested only in personal benefits and ways to make people work for him. He always makes you feel good. He has few personal convictions about problems in the community, and he generally follows the advice of someone who holds a more secure leadership position. He courts the favor of this person and does not really care what happens so long as it does not damage his reputation. Such a person will do virtually anything that will increase his status with others. In a very real sense he is not a leader at all, only a pseudo-leader who reflects the convictions of more stable people. He does not stand or fall on what he believes to be best. He tries to anticipate the outcome of an issue and get on the winning side.

It is conceivable that there are continuums other than the one

discussed and illustrated here. Community leaders may act in such a way as to reveal operational beliefs that support an interdependent or a dependent concept of society. And along a similar, but not identical, continuum, the actions of leaders might also be such that they would reveal a conservative or a very liberal concept of community life. In any event, one can see that leadership moves in different directions. Responsible leaders take different positions regarding community progress because they hold varying operational beliefs about people and community living. They see things differently because their assumptions are so different. Contrasting roles of leadership thus emerge as a result of these divergent beliefs.

LEADERS SHAPE COMMUNITY LIFE

The leading citizens in communities have much to do with the way people live. The power of some "to have their way" is often extensive. The impact of such influence on community life cannot be overlooked. One can readily observe that a leader's influence results from particular tangible assets that give him status among people. This difference in standing is not altogether dependent upon these tangible factors. They alone will not make him a significant leader.

The more important reasons why some people achieve positions of leadership are not easily recognized. It appears that the more influential leaders adhere to a self-defined pattern of beliefs about community living, and that they exercise these beliefs rather consistently in their day-to-day decisions. These decisions generally represent a consistent point of view, and such consistency impresses community residents. These persons are then regarded as dependable.

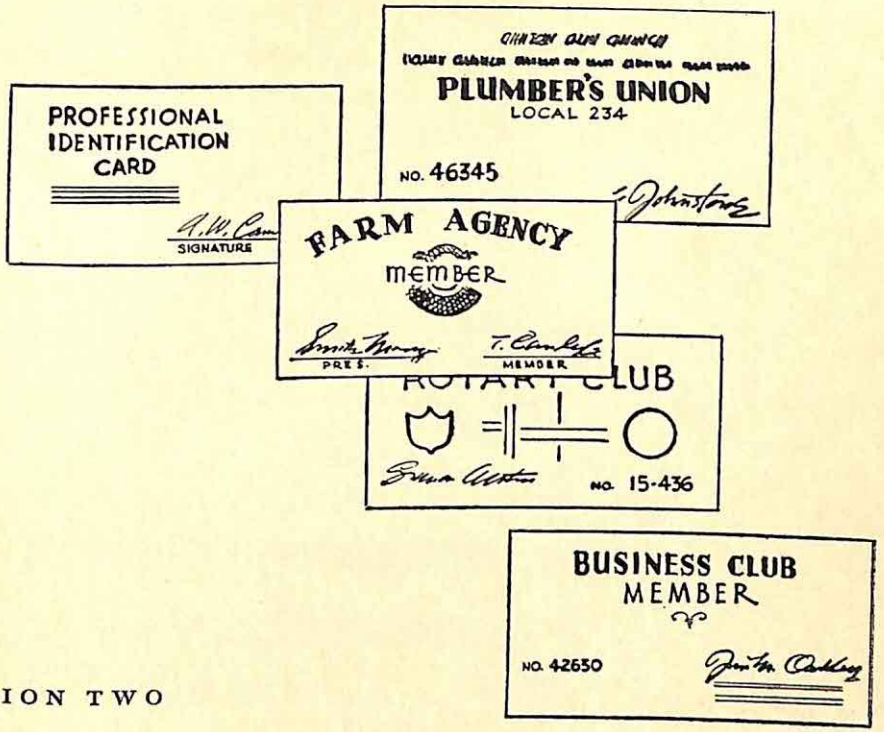
Furthermore, the decisions that leaders make and the positions they take must appear to be decent, sensible, and logical in the eyes of citizens. From these conceptions of the people a person's recognition as a leader emerges.

Inasmuch as real community leaders consistently exercise their operational beliefs, the people know where they stand on things.

Some are known as conservative people. They can be depended upon to act within the generally accepted conception of conservatism. Others may be spoken of as liberal. Leaders are labeled by such terms so that their courses of action can be fittingly described in terms of community beliefs and values. The positions of leaders and their actions point in some social direction.

Although expedient leaders achieve considerable influence in some communities, their efforts are generally pointed toward cultivating people. They are not so concerned with community progress and community social policy as with their personal status among people. As explained earlier, they are in a sense pseudo-leaders. These leaders can be recognized for what they are.

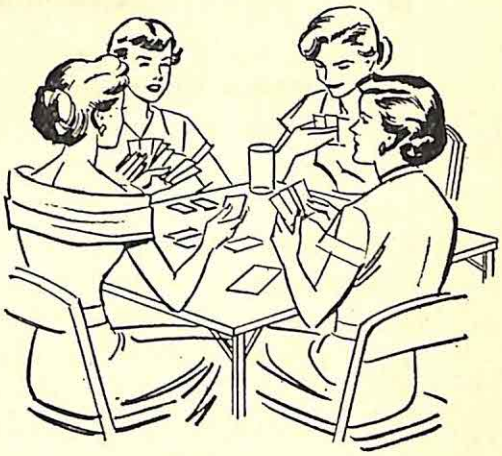
Inasmuch as dependable leaders move on the basis of some consistent beliefs about community life, they become very valuable citizens. They are sensitive to the values held by vast numbers of people, and they attempt to project plans that would implement these values and beliefs. It is interesting to note, however, that people cannot be leaders unless they properly relate themselves to other people. In fact, to obtain a position of real leadership, they must have the support of a group or several groups of people, and it is well to note that groups as well as individuals can assume a leadership role in community life.



SECTION TWO

COMMUNITIES OF INTEREST

AS A PERSON LOOKS AROUND *in his community, he sees close friends, casual acquaintances, and complete strangers. Some of these people he understands, admires, and respects; others he appreciates to a lesser degree, or fails completely to understand. In short, he looks at people in "bunches" and he finds himself identified with some clusters and excluded from others. These groupings are the basic ingredients of society—the "communities of interest" that make up larger communities everywhere.*



CHAPTER FOUR

SOME COMMUNITY GROUPS ARE DIFFICULT TO SEE

THE BEDROCK GROUPS in any community are informal. Everyone is in at least one—but no one is in all of them. People are not troubled by not belonging to more groups than they do belong to; after all, they generally feel more comfortable with their friends and neighbors than with a lot of other folks. They like to share their interests, hobbies, beliefs, and values with people with whom they have these things in common.

It may be that a person has never given a lot of thought to these shared concerns. Perhaps he has said, "We just seem to be interested in the same things," or "We usually work together," or "We see eye to eye on most things." These are just different ways of identifying oneself with others, and when you look at people like this they form groups that are unorganized or informal. The members do not elect a chairman, collect dues, or adopt a constitution, but this makes them no less of a group. The interests they share are enough to make them a group.

INTERESTS RUN WILD

The interests of people—their likes and dislikes—are the outward indications of more basic considerations that determine how they spend their time, with whom they associate, and ultimately the kind of contribution they make to society.

Ernest Grady is as enthusiastic as a kid playing baseball when it comes to community betterment. In his small home town people point with pride to the painted mail boxes, the new telephone lines, the new furniture in the school. They point with equal pride to Mr. Grady himself. "If it hadn't been for Ernest, we wouldn't have had any of these things. He has been president of our civic improvement club twice, and when he's in office things really get done. Why, when he got interested in getting telephones for our community, he went to see every resident personally and got subscriptions. He gets so wrapped up in projects like that that no one can turn him down. If Ernest gets interested in something, you can count on things happening."

These interests absorb Ernest's time, energy, and enthusiasm. They are the things which, to him, "make life worth living."

In Ernest's county Tom Brinkley also has a reputation as a "go-getter," but in a different sort of way. He's a county squire—a member of the county court. Although approaching 60 years of age, Tom is widely known as "that little fire-ball magistrate." He talks a lot about democracy and points with pride to the services he has rendered to the people of his district as their representative in county government. He's a crusader—an outspoken opponent of a group of leaders to whom he refers as "the big five." "If it's a matter of politics, you can count on Tom to be in the thick of things. Why, do you know, at election time he plasters posters all over the front of his house. People always know how Tom stands on things. If it's something he's interested in, he'll work from dawn till dark. Politics is a game to him."

Tom is not too different from Ernest when it comes to drive and energy, but their efforts are applied to different things. Their interests vary and so does the nature of their contribution to community life.

Mrs. Brown is active in community life, too. Her friends jokingly call her "Mrs. PTA." When little Bill entered the first grade, his mother became vitally interested in everything that went on. She visited the school at every opportunity, and it was not long before she noticed a few things she thought should be improved—the children needed more books, the room was unattractive, new equipment was needed in the cafeteria. To her these problems were a challenge and her career as "Mrs. PTA" was launched. Pie suppers, rummage sales, contests, and drives of all sorts are "right down her line."

Mrs. Brown's projects are as important to her as Ernest Grady's or Tom Brinkley's are to them. They are uppermost in her mind—the things she feels she can do and wants to do. They are the vehicles by which she gains the sense of achievement all people seek.

Everyone, like Mr. Grady, Mr. Brinkley, and Mrs. Brown, does a lot of things because he "likes to" or because he thinks certain actions are right, proper, and in fact expected in the community. Basic interests, then, are the outgrowths of the things one values most. A person does not have to tell everyone what he believes; his actions from day to day tell the story.

Interests truly "run wild" in communities. They exist on all levels, ranging from the trivial to the profound, the immature to the mature, the ridiculous to the sublime. The interests of some people may be on the "kiddie car level," whereas the drives of others may be on the "Cadillac level." These interests indicate a lot about what people strive for in life. They explain some of the outward differences in people, suggest some of their basic motivations, and offer a partial explanation for their selection of friends and the way they group themselves in communities.

One might say that interests are as varied as—if not more so than—the beliefs and values that give rise to them. Even so, any thoughtful person can stand off and look at his community in terms of what people are doing, why, and how. When placed under the microscope in this manner, communities sometimes remind one of anthills. A superficial glance gives the impression of utter confusion—activity for the sake of activity—behavior with no rhyme or reason.

A second and more careful look, however, begins to bring order out of chaos. Things—many things—are happening in an anthill. All sorts of activities are under way, but they all seem to have a purpose. There is a division of labor, a fixing of responsibility, a planned and orderly association of the "individuals" who make up the "community of ants."

People are somewhat like this, too. They have a lot of interests but not so many that they must stand alone. Consequently, one finds common denominators—some things that all share and some things that are shared by only a part of the community.

For this reason, Ernest Grady and his community improvement projects, Tom Brinkley and his political campaigns, and "Mrs. PTA" share many interests. Where does school improvement leave off and community betterment begin? How can either be divorced from the political future of the community?

Communities, then, are made up of many interests. The Ernest Gradys may stick together in recognition of common concerns, and the same is likely to be true with respect to all other shared interests. However, these interests overlap to a considerable degree and thus provide the connecting links—the lasting bonds that make for community-wide "we-feeling."

This is why it "comes naturally" for a person to identify himself more closely with some people than with others, even within a larger community that possesses a high degree of we-feeling. In seeking to understand these associations, one might say that people move from values to beliefs, from beliefs to interests, from interests to shared concerns, and, finally, from shared concerns to social groupings.

BELIEFS AND INTERESTS GIVE RISE TO INFORMAL GROUPS

"There's a group of men in this community who are against any progress. We call them 'Uncle Joe's boys' because old Joe Beaver has always been in the group. It's just pure old selfishness. They've always been that way, and they'll die that way. They aren't just conservative in city affairs but in the way they live, too. Many of them didn't even have plumbing in their own homes for

years. They had rough times getting started and they can't see why it should be different for anyone else. Fortunately, they aren't in control now. They can still influence some matters, but things are changing."

"Uncle Joe's boys?" "Conservative?" "Selfish?"—words, typical phrases, which often herald the existence of an informal group. Catch-all, collective references—"*they* did this . . . ," "*they* believe thus and so . . ."—are handy ways of telling others about people who stick together because they hold a lot in common.

A reference to "Uncle Joe's boys" points a finger at an age group first of all, but also, and more basically, an aggregation of people who are enough alike in their outlook on life to be grouped, classified, and stereotyped by their friends and neighbors. Conservative? Yes, but by whose definition? Viewed from the other side of the coin, what does one of Uncle Joe's boys have to say about community groups as he sees them?

"The young fellows are taking over. Most of the city officials are from this group. They are going around here building $20,000 homes and they just don't have the money. They think times are going to continue just like they are—and they may. These young fellows have been spending our money right along. I expect we are pretty close to the limit."

"Young fellows," "free spenders," "they" this, "they" that, "they" something else. The references are essentially the same. Stereotypes, to be sure, but common ways of pigeon-holing beliefs and tying them to groups.

This is a very common way of looking at folks. It is also the way people look at communities. But it is not just a simple matter of identifying the "old fellows" or the "young fellows." There are many other kinds of groupings that spring out of a community culture. Since all of them reflect definite beliefs and personal values, they have been referred to in Chapter 3. Here are some random quotations that describe them once again and indicate their significance as groups in a local setting.

"In order to understand a person in my community you have to look at his family. Take Mr. Sanderson. He's about 60 years old and was born and reared in this county.

"He had five brothers and two sisters who married and settled down in the home county. His uncle had six boys and three girls. They also made their homes here. Each one of his brothers and first cousins married home-town girls, and their children are all old enough to vote now.

"If you were to add up Mr. Sanderson's relatives, the figure would run to more than a hundred. He likes to brag about his 104 nieces and nephews. The folks around here say that the Sandersons and the sagebrush are taking the county. The family is very clannish and will listen to Mr. Sanderson when voting time comes around."

The family clan is reminiscent of days long since past for most urban communities. However, in many of America's rural sections family ties run deep. Some, possibly most, are loosely knit, with the younger generation drifting off to affiliate with larger non-local communities. The large family, nevertheless, is still a potent force and a basic informal grouping in a lot of places. "When the wolf's at the door you can count on the Sandersons sticking together," is a saying that has its counterpart in many communities.

Occupational pursuits frequently provide an outlet for shared values and interests and thus become the overt expression of informal communities of interest. In agricultural communities the farmers usually develop a kind of we-feeling that is evident to even the most casual observer. Farming can be, and generally *is*, more than an occupation; it is a way of life, a complex of values

and interests that provides a solid base for the groups which emerge.

However, even within closely knit occupational groups, such as farming, a number of sub-groups are likely to form.

"In my community there are two farming groups—the old and the new. Most of the large land-holders have retired now, but the pattern of living that these men set still lives on in the community.

"On the other hand, there's a group of young farmers who bought land in this section within the past few years. Since they are the folks who are moving to the front, let me tell you about a couple of ladies in my community.

"Mrs. Gordon Davidson is president of the Community Improvement League. She works in the tobacco field along with her husband. Everybody around here says, 'She hoes tobacco just like Gordon does. She doesn't mind getting her hands dirty.'

"Mrs. Davidson and her husband own their own farm. The home has recently been built. It's a frame house. Her furniture is not antique but is more on the modern style. She's very active in school and church activities and her husband is a deacon in the church.

"Then there's Mrs. Elmore Bass. She was the first president of the Improvement League, and is somewhat like Mrs. Davidson. Mrs. Bass works on the farm, mostly taking care of the dairy cows.

She doesn't work with her husband in the tobacco fields like Mrs. Davidson does. Mrs. Bass seems to be an 'in-between' member of the new farm and the old farm groups. As a matter of fact, Mrs. Bass's husband inherited the farm, whereas most of the new farm owners bought their farms within recent years. Mrs. Bass is a member of the Baptist Church. In this church you will find most of the old farm group in this community. But she has good friends in both groups."

"New farm," "old farm"; "bought," "inherited"; "modern furniture," "antiques"—these are some of the differences and likenesses that distinguish one way of life from another, even within a single occupational group. These are the kinds of things people subconsciously take into account in their affiliation with the informal group of their choice.

Informal groups, then, arise from the most basic kinds of beliefs and values. They come in all sizes, shapes, and forms. In some communities one finds professional groups, family clans, "drugstore cowboys," "courthouse loafers," "Chamber of Commerce boys," the "Country Club crowd," neighborhood cliques, and many others.

This collection of diverse groups presents a varied pattern. Some clusters appear to be temporary; others are of a more lasting character. They overlap, intermingle, and at times blend imperceptibly. However, if one remembers that communities of interest of all types are just as stable as the values, beliefs, and interests that serve as their foundations, much of the confusion disappears. One can begin to see much more stability in one's community than one had thought it possessed. But even so, what does this conglomeration of groups mean for any given person?

NOBODY CAN BE IN EVERY GROUP

"I find it exceedingly difficult to present an intelligent answer to your question about my relationship to the informal groups in my community. There are several reasons for this: one, I have been a school teacher for the greater part of the last five years and have not been in the community except to pass through; two, I haven't

been aware of any groups; three, I never take an active part in the political or social functions as I consider them to smell of petty politics and silly personal jealousies; and four, I commute and I am not forced to rely on local trade. I can teach just about anywhere."

This young man is a stranger in his own town. To the groups that he overlooks or openly holds in contempt he is in fact an outsider. He prides himself in being above petty politics and personal jealousies. He withdraws from the main stream of life in his community and accepts no responsibility for the welfare of the larger group of which he is a part.

Paradoxically enough, he is a teacher by vocation—a person who works daily with the children who come from all community groups. To him, however, education is an insular sort of thing that can be housed within the four walls of the classroom, turned on like a spigot at 8:30 A.M. and off at 3:30 P.M. He sees no relationship between his position in society and the occupation to which he is dedicated.

A stranger? Yes, but only hermits nearly succeed in isolating themselves from society. Even this man is identified with one or more informal groups. Perhaps, his allegiance is to others within his chosen profession; maybe it is a family group which gives him the satisfaction that all must gain through association with others.

Unfortunately, this person possesses at least two major blind spots. First of all, he seemingly fails to recognize or largely overlooks the groups of which he is a part. Secondly, he assumes that his isolation from his community is solely a matter of choice—that he could affiliate himself with any and all groups at will.

It is basic fallacies like these that cause people to close their eyes to some of the realities of life. All groups are essentially exclusive. One and all, they stand for certain things that distinguish them from other groups. People must of necessity meet the unwritten standards for membership in the informal group to which they belong.

John Thomas, a successful lawyer, told this story to his friend while driving through one of the more exclusive neighborhoods in a large midwestern city.

unusual. Leadership groups of one kind or another exist in all communities. They are usually informal, small, homogeneous, and powerful. They are simply the clusters that are formed when several personal leaders tacitly agree that they have enough in common to work side by side on most critical issues. These agreements are not formal pacts. In fact, they may even be so informal that group members will deny their existence.

"The power structure in my county has always been a puzzling thing to me," the editor of a rural newspaper observed. "I sense that things happen in about the same ways from time to time but it's hard to explain. There seems to be a kind of unseen force at work, but occasionally I feel its impact. I get the impression that the power structure tends to take the form of two poles, on both a community and a county-wide basis. These poles seem to grow out of enduring common interests and satisfactory associations. By this, I mean that folks all over the county have had satisfying contacts with certain people over a period of many years. They have learned to respect and support certain leaders in return for personal favors that they will never forget.

"One of the poles in each community tends to be associated with a corresponding pole in the county seat. This is because there are two leadership groups in the county seat that have ties and allegiances in every other community.

"These leaders are important people in the two rival county seat banks, so you see the structure most clearly when financial interests are at stake. I've noticed too that in elections the pattern is pretty much the same—Cartwright's group often puts people in office and keeps them there—sometimes with the tacit agreement of Davis and sometimes whether Davis likes it or not.

"You know, I don't believe many folks ever stop to think about these alignments, even though they know how things work. I've heard my father say a lot of times, 'If it ever came to a showdown I'd support Davis. He helped me save my business back in the depression and turn-about would be only fair.' But, I don't imagine Dad ever stops to think how many others feel the same way."

Leadership groups are essentially like other informal groups. However, they tend to differ in composition, unifying factors, and customary activities. They are usually made up of people who are widely known, respected citizens. These leaders are often in a position to render service to others, and they generally have personal, professional, or humanitarian interests in the destiny of the total community. It is well to remember that any man who is in a position to help others has potential power, and the same is true of groups.

"There used to be three influential lawyers in this county who helped a lot of people," explained a successful school superintendent. "They are all dead or retired now but their power has passed on to others. They set the pattern and others stepped into their shoes. Mr. White is one of these men. His influence is built on service to his county, just like the influence of his predecessors. While the population of the county was still small, he befriended someone in most of the families. He and his entire family have pleasing personalities, and he is never too busy to do something for someone. He is always around the courthouse to help his friends, regardless of how small or large the job might be. He is called on for all kinds of favors, from getting traffic tickets torn up to getting roads worked or helping to put across a Red Cross drive, and he is always ready to help. Although some of his actions are, at times, questionable and not approved by the people, they have the feeling that Mr. White always takes care of his friends. That's why he is able to stay in power.

"There's another man who followed the same pattern, although in a different way. He came to the county years ago as a young doctor with a lot of ambition for prestige and status. He would doctor all patients and accept meat, poultry, and vegetables in payment, but he always expected payment of some kind. As the depression came on people became less able to pay, but they kept running up bills, and in some cases he took mortgages on property. Then, having acquired some capital, he loaned money on farm lands, and in a few instances he bought some land.

"In a few years, by outright purchases and foreclosures, he became

the largest land-holder in the county and consequently began to assume more and more power and influence. During all of this time he continued to help people in need and to be active in the church and community until he became highly respected.

"He built a small clinic, went into the banking business, and financed several retail businesses. Eventually he quit practicing medicine. He is not a leader who stays out in front, but the type of person everyone recognizes as the leader. This doctor, along with the lawyer I told you about and several prominent businessmen, are always contacted before any moves are made. This is true in all phases of community life."

Wealth, prestige, service to mankind, conformity to community customs and mores—these and many other factors contribute to an individual's or a group's rise to power. It is for this reason that no leadership group can remain hidden, even though it deliberately seeks to stay behind the scenes. Even so, power exercised by informal groups can be extremely subtle. This is especially true of entrenched control groups that have well-established patterns of communication and channels of influence. The examples cited above are illustrations of the kind of power clusters that emerge over a span of years and which possess as much stability as the enduring personal ties that give them their strength.

Sometimes the most difficult leadership groups to identify in any community are those which are just emerging. However, they are typically the most vocal and active, relying heavily upon the more obvious media of communication for building group cohesion and solidarity.

"The informal group that shows the most promise in my community," explained a young social worker, "is built around the new people who moved in in recent years. I call it a group even though it's just in the process of becoming one. There's a lot of jockeying for position—so much, in fact, that it's hard to tell who's in it and who isn't. For this reason, I'll describe it by telling you about the man who is doing the most to pull the new group together.

"He is a college graduate who moved into the community in recent years to work with the farm people. After two or three years

and after getting acquainted and acquiring the confidence of a lot of farmers, he purchased a business that deals almost exclusively with the rural people. This business is successful and the rural people are now beginning to look to him for leadership. In the meantime, he has lived in town and has been active in one of the civic clubs and in his church.

"The group under the leadership of this young businessman is just beginning to test its wings and shows promise of developing into a strong force. In fact, it seems to me that, unless other forces develop, this group will eventually get in control, with the young leader replacing one or more of the present city fathers.

"An interesting thing about this group is that the people of the county were passive and self-satisfied until this young man, gradually and without much fanfare, began to wake them up. All of this change has taken place since World War II. The fact that many of the young men saw things in a different light and returned somewhat dissatisfied with home conditions has contributed to this development. For this reason, the group that is rallying around the young businessman is largely made up of young people. However, a number of older people are now beginning to get on the bandwagon."

Leadership groups in any locality tend to take on characteristics that reflect the community's particular stage of development—how mature it is in using its inherent power for self-improvement.

The "young" groups—which are not necessarily young from the standpoint of chronological age of members—are generally quite fluid. They lack the enduring ties and satisfactory personal associations that produce stability in group action. Perhaps this is why identifying the emerging power clusters—the leadership groups of the immediate future—is so difficult.

The alert observer, however, is aware of the existence of informal groupings at all levels of maturity, and he is particularly sensitive to the clues that reveal their existence. He hears comments such as these:

"Each morning about nine o'clock we meet in the hotel coffee shop for coffee and gab."

"When issues get hot, we always drift over to the post office and have a little pow-wow with Mr. Sisk."

"If five people could be brought down on a level with the rest of the people, we could get along nicely—I call them the Big Five."

"The city fathers are just skinflints."

"Bill Wade has powerful political ties. They . . ."

"When that issue came up we had a caucus in the little park behind the courthouse."

These are just a few of the ways in which people put their fingers on the community power structure. Regardless of the expressions used in them, such comments basically recognize one thing—that informal groups are markedly different in their potential for influencing or controlling the behavior of others. Of course, all informal groups have a degree of influence and perhaps some potential that even the group members are apt to overlook.

In the final analysis, leadership is a matter of relative influence, both actual and potential. It makes no difference whether one is thinking of individuals or informal groups; the principle is the same.

EVERYONE BELONGS TO AT LEAST ONE INFORMAL GROUP

As one pauses to look at his community, one sees many interests being pursued by people from all walks of life. These interests are the symbols of the basic operational beliefs that motivate behavior from day to day. They are more than fleeting fancies; whole value systems are wrapped up in choices of activities. There are only 24 hours in the day, and a man's decisions governing the use of this time are significantly colored by the beliefs he prizes most highly. With this kind of perspective—this way of looking at the distribution of human energy in a community—one gets the impression that the conduct of people is predictable within broad limits. Life is not helter-skelter—behavior is caused.

To one who recognizes this basic stability in human relations, the grouping of people around shared interests takes on new meaning. These friendship groups are more than casual acquaintances; they, too, have their roots in the cultural values from which they emerge.

Informal groups, then, enjoy a relative status in society. Power and potential for control are distributed unevenly. Consequently, some groupings are in reality power clusters—aggregations of people who, individually and collectively, perform leadership functions. They can, and usually do, have a profound effect upon community development. Their insights and aspirations determine, in a large measure, how far, how fast, and in what direction a community moves.

Influence, however, is not a one-way proposition. Leadership groups derive their status from the larger community, and retain their position within the framework of certain rules of the game accepted by the people at large. The power structure depends upon the community, and the people rely upon their leaders.

Taken as a whole, the many informal groups that make up a community comprise a vast potential for community betterment. They are a potential that rarely reaches fruition, however, because informal groups are not recognized for what they are—the basic unit in associated living.

CHAPTER FIVE

MANY GROUPS ARE OBVIOUS TO ALL

ORGANIZED GROUPS are the trademarks of communities. They, like the skyscrapers of New York City, are the outward symbols of the many activities in which communities engage daily. Informal groups may be difficult to spot, but organizations and institutions are obvious to all.

Civic clubs and city councils, PTA's and school boards, labor unions and chambers of commerce are so commonplace that one may forget that each has a reason for being. They seek different objectives in different ways but they serve, one and all, as means for expressing the interests of their respective memberships.

Moreover, they did not come into being by chance. Somebody, somewhere, first placed a spotlight on the needs that a particular group now seeks to meet. These original needs are often obscured by time and circumstance, but every institution and most organizations have their roots deeply embedded in the culture that gave birth to them.

One rarely takes time, however, to evaluate the organized groups in one's community by tracing their growth as the lineage of a pedigreed dog might be traced. People have learned to accept, virtually without question, the institutions that sought to meet the needs of their parents, grandparents, and ancestors still further removed from themselves. How often does a man look critically at home life in his community, his schools, churches, or even the numerous agencies

of government that serve him daily? It is possible, then, that one also tends toward the same form of unquestioning acceptance of "what is" when one looks at civic clubs, social fraternities, business associations, and professional organizations.

Even though answers to these questions may reveal that organized groups often "grow like Topsy," most people do recognize, in a subjective way, many of the basic characteristics of their community's formal structure. Some of our organized groups, for example, erect formidable barriers to membership. These exclusive clubs set a number of definite restrictions determining who is admitted to the fold and who is excluded. These are the groups that are often direct outgrowths of a single informal grouping.

On the other hand, some organizations and institutions draw their membership from, or attempt to serve, several different informal interest groups. They are more cosmopolitan and generally appeal to a different level of interests. They are the ones that often work for total community betterment.

Casual observations, then, cause one to feel that there is something important in the relationships that exist between informal communities of interest and the more obvious organized groups. Perhaps this is the key to taking a fresh look at the way in which communities are set up to do business—to handle the problems that occur month by month and year by year.

By using this key to unlock the door to community understanding, an observer reveals other important relationships. Some organized groups are "powerhouses," whereas others seem to have little or no influence in shaping the future of the community. This is also true of individuals and informal groups. Consequently, there would seem to be a direct link between influential individuals, informal power clusters, and organized groups that can throw their weight around.

The whole picture of groups in a community is what counts. The big ones and the little ones—the weak and the strong—fit together like pieces in a jig-saw puzzle. A community generally gets nowhere when its groups try to "go it alone." If all must pull together, it becomes imperative that the different kinds of pieces that make up our community puzzle interlock.

"LET'S GET TOGETHER AND ORGANIZE"

How many people have said, "I'd certainly like to join that club, but I just can't find time"? By recognizing that there are many demands on their time people say, in effect, that life is not as simple as it once was. There are so many things going on—so many groups with their own particular interests and projects—that one has to be selective. No one can take part in everything, so everyone has to choose.

The advantages of belonging to one group are weighed against the opportunities another affords, and a decision is made in terms of dominant interests. If the bonds of we-feeling in a group are strong enough, it is likely to be identified with a single informal community of interest. If so, it may not be representative of the community at large. Such an organization would not have cross-sectional membership. It would be a special-interest group.

"Special interest" is a term often confused with antisocial and destructively selfish intentions. People who get together in recognition of common concerns do not necessarily have sinister motives. They may be eager for the values they hold to be kept alive and extended to others. This would be only right and proper, and it is one of the privileges all groups in America covet. However, the manner in which beliefs are defended and shared reflects what the group really believes about the rights of others. It is on this point that the line may be drawn between the special-interest group and the organization that has an ax to grind. Organized groups, then, are like the persons who make them up. They are not inherently good or bad—it all depends on how they behave. Special-interest groups touch virtually all aspects of life—social, civic, political, aesthetic, religious, economic. They come in all sizes and shapes. Some are so highly structured that they have almost seemed to defy change throughout the years. Others are little more than simple "get-togethers."

Mary Caldwell is an attractive housewife, mother of two children and wife of a young minister. Home responsibilities seem to get in the way of her participation in many community activities. How-

ever, she always finds time for anything that goes under the general heading of church work. This is Mary's description of a group that absorbs much of her energy and spare time:

"Last night we had a church workers' meeting of all the people who live in our neighborhood. We are not a real organization yet, but we do get together every week or so. We visit the sick people in our church and help those who have problems. We also try to meet all of the new families who move into the neighborhood to find out what their religious tendencies and preferences are. If they are not affiliated with some church already, we invite them to attend ours. We are getting a better system now. Last night we decided to take a community census, and we set up zones to get the job done. Our real purpose is to make Christians out of people who don't go to church, and this way we won't miss anyone."

Mary's group is just "coming of age" as an organization. From this standpoint, it is really "adolescent"—too structured to be an informal group, and too informal to be a full-fledged organization. Its purpose is clear and its membership is restricted in terms of

this objective. Mary and her friends belong to the same church and live in the same neighborhood. They have a strong "we-feeling," and as a group they have no difficulty in distinguishing the "we's" from the "they's."

Bill Jackson, a young cotton mill executive, is in a group also. His organization is quite different from Mary's but has many of the same characteristics.

"Bill is really a go-getter," declared one of his associates. "We always think of him as a self-made man. He joined the company as a day laborer ten years ago and worked up through the ranks. During this time he also won the support of the community. Everybody had noticed that he was a hard worker and a pretty nice guy, so it was just a matter of time before he was invited to join the local civic club. From project to project he demonstrated his dependability, and as his reputation for being 'one of the boys' grew, he accepted more and more leadership jobs in the club. He's our president now. Our club is pretty small—we vote on all new members—and Bill keeps us pulling together. Every second Friday his secretary sends out a notice that the committee of eight is scheduled to meet. She thinks it's a business group, but it's really the announcement of our regular poker game. You see, the officers of the club are all good friends. We get a lot of planning done and still have fun at these meetings."

Although Bill's club is civic in nature, it is perhaps as exclusive as Mary's. Membership is restricted, first of all by sex and second by age. Only young men are eligible to belong, but even more important, only young men who believe certain things about the future of the community. Bill and his closest associates—"the committee of eight"—are looked upon as "liberals." They are not only the leaders of an informal group of young businessmen, but also the elected officials of their civic club. Consequently, the organization provides a direct outlet for the energies of a single leadership cluster.

Mary and Bill have more in common than they might suspect, even though Mary's organization is basically a neighborhood grouping with a religious orientation, and Bill's group is an organization of young men with dominant business interests. They are both

direct outgrowths of informal "communities of interest," and as such have a tendency to be exclusive in their outlook on other groups. In both instances, the recognition of common interests has produced a strong "we-feeling" among group members. Consequently, Mary and Bill are affiliated with organized groups that have a tendency to promote the welfare of their respective membership first, and community-wide betterment second.

These kinds of groups have flourished as communities have become more complex. They have taken many forms—a farmers' cooperative springing from an informal farm interest group, a labor union rising from a shared occupational interest, a chamber of commerce emerging to represent a community's business interests. They have a place, a most significant position, in society, but they constitute only a part of the total picture. The organizations and institutions that cut across informal group lines also have an important contribution to make.

THIS ONE IS FOR EVERYBODY

"When we first moved to Hopeville," explained a factory foreman, "there were just four groups that folks belonged to—two churches, the neighborhood league, and the civic club that's run by the front office crowd at the plant. Naturally, you couldn't be in more than two. Everybody could choose his church but a man's job picked the other one for him. It seemed that we were scrapping all the time when things were that way. Of course, the civic club was always wanting to help the rest of us, but we never felt exactly right about those things. You might say that we just all went our own way. Trouble doesn't make itself, I've always said.

"Well, one day a few years ago a man came down here and started talking about a community club. I believe he said he worked for the state or some college. Anyway, it was his idea to form this club and let anybody join who was interested in trying to improve the community. A lot of folks were suspicious at first, but pretty soon more and more people started coming to the meetings. We'd seen some of the people who came to those first meetings all our lives but had never been in a group with them before. After

a while we decided they weren't as bad as we had thought. Of course, it hasn't been all peaches and cream with the community club. The churches get into it every now and then over some

project. I remember when the club had a bingo game to raise money once and the other group just about pulled out. It's not just the churches, though. Sometimes we get the idea that the factory big shots keep a pretty close eye on us, but even they are getting better.

"I guess you'd say the community club has helped Hopeville a lot. At least we think the same way on more things than we did a few years ago and we don't scrap nearly as much."

Company villages may be passing out of the picture, but communities everywhere have the problem of striking a satisfactory balance between special-interest groups and the organizations that cut across informal group lines. Both kinds are necessary, but too much of either can block community development. Special interests, if carried to the extreme, can tear a community apart at the seams. Likewise, a replacement of all special-interest groups with community-wide organizations might tend to stifle individual initiative.

Few communities, however, are in danger of overemphasizing the interests that draw people together in common enterprises. Leaders who are effective within a single special-interest group are commonplace. The person who has the insights and ability necessary to help several different groups work side by side is rare indeed.

Harry Livingston's story reveals that he has recognized some of the problems associated with this kind of leadership. "I've been a vocational agriculture teacher in Clarksburg for the past seven years. During this time I've gotten to know the farm population pretty well. I can see almost any of them on the street and discuss their sick cow, broken tractor, or barn that needs repair. I'm actually one of them, and I guess that's the real source of my influence in the community.

"But I'm going to have to look at my community in a different way now that I've given up Vo-ag for a high school principalship. For seven years when issues came up I sided with the farmers. I can remember saying on such occasions 'you can count on my support—I'm on your side.' It never really occurred to me that there could be any other side.

"So you see, I'm now in a position where I'm expected to serve all groups. After all, children come to my school from all of the homes. I don't know whether I can be a total community leader or not. I've seen a few fellows try it. They shot up like skyrockets and then fizzled right out. You know what I mean—it's just a tough job. But I'm going to be found trying when school opens. I may fizzle out like the rest, but it will be worth a chance. After all, somebody ought to feel a responsibility to the whole community."

This school principal, although insecure, is beginning to grapple with the problem of community-wide leadership. He senses a need for providing opportunities for the various community groups to get to know each other better. He has a vision of people who disagree sharply on some matters joining hands in terms of the things they hold in common. This is the kind of outlook on leadership that helps community groups pull together. Without it, groups often work at cross purposes. Each goes its own way and the directions for the whole community emerge as a by-product of group conflict.

The absence of community-wide interests on the part of local

leaders can result in a number of unfortunate circumstances. Groups dedicated to total community improvement have a difficult time even existing when their leaders have an undue allegiance to special interests. This means, in turn, that many people are denied opportunities to have a part in matters that have a direct bearing on their lives.

The special-interest group does not open its doors to everyone. Consequently, the people who are excluded must seek out groups that have fewer restrictions on participation. These are usually the groups that serve several different communities of interest. If the doors to these groups are closed because no one thinks they are necessary or important, broad participation in public affairs is largely blocked.

Fortunately, a democracy guarantees the right of participation to all citizens and sets up a framework to make it possible. Such institutions as legislatures, city councils, county courts, and school boards exist for the sole purpose of serving the people at large. Theoretically, they are not and should not be dedicated to special interests. That is not their purpose.

However, the character of an institution is determined in a large measure by the concepts people hold of the job to be done. That is why some groups appear more democratic than others, even though they operate within the same legal framework.

Tom Wilkerson has been a member of the Russellville City Council for ten years. He has a very clear conception of his job—a set of beliefs which, to him, justifies all the time and energy he devotes to his duties. This is his story:

"Why did I run for the city council? Well, it's a long story. I've been a businessman ever since I got out of school, or maybe it even started before that—you see, I took over my father's store. Even as a child I worked in the store in the afternoons and on Saturdays, and Dad hired a few other boys, too. In those days it seemed that we all knew how to make change, fill out charge account tickets, and do all the other little things you have to do around a store. But it hasn't been that way in recent years. We get boys in here now who don't know the first thing about doing business—why, they can't even add

two and two! They just think the world owes them a living whether they work or not.

"Well, several of us who own businesses in Russellville got together a few years ago to talk about the situation. It was in a chamber of commerce meeting that it all started, but later on we got together over a cup of coffee almost every morning. In these discussions we tried to figure out what was happening to the young people and what it meant for our businesses. We first thought it was this thing called progressive education that was killing the spirit of competition and undermining free enterprise. That's why we once considered running someone for the school board to try to straighten things out. Well, as we continued to discuss the situation we decided that we ought to do more than that to promote our businesses.

"Maybe it wasn't all the fault of the school, we reasoned, and that's when we started talking about getting a representative of business on the city council. At that time we had a bunch of young fellows who had just about taken over. They were a bunch of radicals, most of them union members besides. They didn't know what it was to do sound business—just like the kids who work in our stores. They also thought money grew on trees and that you could tax the property owners for every little project that came along.

"When we realized all these things we were sure that something had to be done to protect our interests. They ran me for the council at that time and I've been a member ever since. It has been a lot of work but I've gotten a lot of satisfaction out of it too. We are still outnumbered on the council, but I've been able to block several wild schemes in the past few years. For example, we have to approve the school budget and I've been pretty successful in knocking off some of the frills every time they ask for more money. You might say I'm on the council to try to get 'back to the fundamentals,' not only in schools but in the town as well."

Tom is perfectly sincere in his efforts to make Russellville a better town. He's confident that he is advocating the only sound course of action for his community, and his friends support these convictions. However, Tom admittedly owes allegiance to a single

informal community of interest—the businessmen of Russellville. He is their representative and spokesman in city government. His job is to support their interests—to perpetuate the beliefs that draw them together as one of several informal social groups in the community. He is an in-group leader first, and secondly a member of a formal group—the city council—which has a total community responsibility.

This is a commonly held concept of representative government, particularly in large communities. The idea is for each major informal interest group to have a representative on the official governing bodies. From that point on it's a matter of relative strength. Policy is set through a process of power bargaining, with the most influential group establishing the pattern for the entire community. When this concept is held and these practices prevail, do public institutions serve all of the people? Is it possible for our elected or appointed representatives in a democracy to perform their duties in such a way as to justify the belief that "this group is for everybody"?

These are some of the questions Dallas Fentress considered when he was elected to serve on the board of education of a large county. When he ran for office most of his friends were mildly shocked. "Why," they asked, "would a wealthy young bachelor be interested in school work?" Dallas has an answer to this question, and it is a reply that reveals his concept of how groups which theoretically represent all of the people should function in a democracy.

"Yes, being a school board member is a new experience for me, and I believe the idea is somewhat new for my friends, too. They refer to it as my 'little political career' and I guess that explains pretty well why I ran for the office.

"You see, I grew up in this county—went off to school—and came back to take over my family's business. As a kid I just took Rosewood for granted. Everybody knew it was a sleepy little community in a county that looked back to glory more than it looked to the present or future. But, that's the way we thought all rural communities were.

"When I went away to college I often thought about my home town and the things that made it what it was. I guess it was then

that I got the idea that Rosewood didn't have to remain apathetic and indifferent to progress. I recalled Jed Taylor, the man who ran the corner grocery store, and the many times I had heard him say that people could work together to improve Rosewood if they only had a little leadership. He used to talk about all the good ideas that were lost because people were not given a chance to get together and work out the problems that came up. I guess he had a lot more vision than I thought he did at the time and maybe a few of his ideas are just beginning to sink in.

"I got to wondering about the decisions that were made by the citizens of Rosewood, and then I thought of the many decisions that were made for Rosewood by a few people. The 'Jonesville Dynasty,' as people call the political machine that has ruled our county for the past twenty years, is made up of a few prominent men. They think that the best government is the one with the least disturbance and friction. They have the notion that it's just plain foolish to let a lot of folks decide what's best for them. I can just hear old man Tyler saying now, 'what's the use in stirring up all that ignorance when we can come up with the best answer anyway?'

"Well, these are some of the reasons I decided to run for the board of education. I figured that the schools were supposed to serve the whole county and not just a few people. Besides, I think the schools have a responsibility for adult education too, don't you? If the schools don't look out for the welfare of all the people, I don't know who's going to do it. I'm hoping that we can help all the communities in this county plan self-improvement programs. Maybe in this way we can make our county a better place in which to live. It's because I believe these things about people—and yes, about this thing called democracy—that I wanted to try my hand at being a school board member."

Tom Wilkerson and Dallas Fentress occupy similar positions. They are both public servants. Each has a legal and moral obligation to serve all of the people who make up his community. They share a concern for civic improvement. Where, then, do they differ and what is the significance of these differences?

Tom is essentially a representative of special interests, whereas

Dallas sees a little more clearly his obligation for fostering total community betterment. Tom's brand of leadership is more prevalent than the kind exercised by Dallas. It is much simpler, more widely accepted and understood, but is it more effective in the long run? Which outlook is more consistent with the American value pattern? What kinds of results will each kind of leadership tend to produce if it is practiced over a period of years in any given community? These are some of the questions that community leaders everywhere must face. Answers will vary but the decisions reached will have a tremendous influence on the future of communities. Democratic institutions, and many civic organizations, are theoretically dedicated to total community betterment. That is why the ballot box is held in such high esteem, and that is why the doors of some groups are open to all who wish to participate. However, the future depends not upon the mechanics of democracy but on the concepts of this way of life that are held by community leaders and all other community residents.

AN ORGANIZATION CAN BE A POWERHOUSE

Power to get things done—to produce action or stifle change—exists in all communities. It is the great potential for improvement that communities subconsciously tap when issues arise and problems must be solved. Basically, it resides with individuals and informal leadership groups, but it often finds expression through organizations and institutions. That is why some organized groups are looked upon as "powerhouses," whereas others are seen in a different light.

Sometimes the most powerful organization in a community will be a special-interest group; occasionally it is a group that serves all of the people. It may be a church, a school system, a community club, or a civic organization. It may be active, vocal, and completely open in advocating certain changes or reforms; it may be more subtle and undercover, with a tendency to work behind the scenes. The forms influence takes vary markedly from community to community, but some of the basic questions about power that civic leaders should attempt to answer remain the same.

Where, one may wonder, does a community's power actually reside—within the organization that has always been considered to be most powerful, or from without and merely flowing through the group? This is a question that puzzled Jack Powell when he accepted an appointment as a social worker in Coppertown, and his comments indicate that he is still a little confused.

"Did you ever try to catch a fish in your bare hands? Well, that's about how slippery I found this matter of power to be in Coppertown. I guess I was just an innocent college boy when I took this job two years ago, but I've learned a lot—the hard way! The city council has to approve our budget every year, so they are a pretty important group as far as we are concerned. One of the first things I was told about Coppertown was how tight-fisted and powerful the council was. The story was that they controlled nearly everything in the town and that they were very conservative.

"Well, all during my first year I spent a lot of time with these men trying to sell them on the need for welfare services in the town. I even got some of them in my car one day and took them over to 'Pest House Hollow,' the slum section down below the river bridge. They seemed to be shocked at what they saw and I felt sure that they would come across with some more money for our program.

"Things went pretty well until about a week before the budgets were to be presented. That's when the councilmen started avoiding me at every turn. I'd be walking down the street toward one of the men and he would cross to the other side so he wouldn't have to speak. This disturbed me a lot because I couldn't figure out what I have done to offend them. This didn't last long though, because the day soon arrived for a showdown on the budget. The atmosphere was so frozen in the council chamber that day that you could have cut it with a knife. You can probably guess what happened. They not only refused to increase our appropriation but actually cut the budget.

"After the meeting I cornered Reid Hedrick, the council president, and asked him what had happened. He couldn't dodge me that time and I could see he was pretty uncomfortable. He stammered around and finally said that public opinion was such that the council

couldn't afford to alter the budget in our favor. Then he suggested that I work throughout the coming year to acquaint more people with our needs. I was pretty hot under the collar but decided that there might be something to his suggestion.

"That's when I started looking around for a civic club to get behind the program. There were several in town, so I picked the most active one. A group of young men were members and I figured they would have enough drive and energy to put the thing across. Well, they couldn't have worked harder after I explained the situation. They contacted hundreds of people individually and they even got a few articles published in the newspaper. By that time another budget year had rolled around and I went to see Mr. Hedrick again. He wouldn't commit himself on a thing, but he said he had heard that the civic club was behind me. At that time I thought we had a fighting chance, but much to my disappointment the council let us down again.

"I thought back over all of the speeches that had been made, all of the publicity we had given the program, and all of the hours I had spent planning strategy with the civic club. It was all pretty discouraging. I was really puzzled by this time and that's when I started thinking. Was it possible that I had missed my guess twice in trying to locate the real power in Coppertown? The council members had apparently been sold on the project, but they suddenly backed out and blamed their actions on 'public opinion.' I had then worked with the group that seemed to be the most active organization in town. Could it be, I wondered, that neither group was really calling the shots in Coppertown? Who was the source of this mythical 'public opinion' that swayed the council on major issues?

"This line of reasoning caused me to start observing the council in operation when several other issues came up. It was not until then that I discovered the 'caucus'—a small group of lawyers and politicians who serve as advisors to the council. Of course, they would deny this, but I've seen more than one councilman beating a path to Judge Parker's doorstep when something big had to be settled. So I think I've finally located Coppertown's decision-

makers. What I'll do about it I don't know, but you can bet your boots on one thing—I'll never again make the mistake of assuming that the organizations in our town are powerful in their own right. They can swing a big stick, all right, but only because of their connection with an outside power."

Jack should consider himself very fortunate to have been able to identify the subtle operation of Coppertown's power structure in only two years. He had encountered two active, and apparently powerful, organizations composed of men who were *not* members of the informal leadership system. It turned out that they were mere "functionaries" when it came to resolving basic issues. However, the fact that the real leadership is to be found outside of an organization does not necessarily mean that an authoritarian pattern exists. In Coppertown's case, the power of decision-making was restricted to a few persons who seemingly held little regard for the aspirations of the people at large. Hence, the operational pattern was more authoritarian than democratic. However, the two organizations Jack tried to work through, even though lacking in leadership, could have behaved in quite a different manner. Had they been able to see their responsibilities in light of total community development, they might have been able to lessen partisan control and provide opportunities for a larger number of people to share in the establishment of community policies.

Occasionally one finds an organization that is made up of the community's most influential leaders. Whether this happens by mere chance or by design, the organization is apt to possess certain distinguishing features. It will generally encounter little difficulty in getting its projects accepted, and for this reason will tend to work quietly and effectively without calling too much attention to its activities. It will often thrive on an *absence* of publicity, for the cohesion of the group is dependent in part upon the confinement of decision-making to its present membership.

It may possess these and still other characteristics that reflect its inherent power. However, like the organization that gets its basic drive from without, it may behave in either a democratic or an authoritarian manner. The location of its source of power is not the

final determinant of its actions, but it is a factor that enables one to understand a group's motivations and some of the reasons for its apparent successes and failures.

Mrs. Miller is a crusading member of the board of education in a large western school district. She is serving in this capacity because of her conviction that the school system has accumulated an undue amount of power. This is her story:

"I guess you know that I'm the minority board member. The superintendent would probably think that 'rebellious' would be a more descriptive word, but this is my version of the situation. It all started when we moved into town five years ago. We had two children in school, so, naturally, I started going to the PTA meetings. That first year several of us took a real interest in school improvement. We started studying how the schools were run and offered to help in any way we could. We soon realized, though, that the school people really didn't want any help. Mr. Saundell, the superintendent, made a speech one day and said that the educators had spent many years studying how to run the schools and that laymen weren't in a position to work on school problems. He offered to explain what was being done but made it quite clear that he didn't want any suggestions or criticism. We were all angry and a little hurt. After all, we figured that the schools were working with our children and that we were paying the bills through taxes!

"Most of the people calmed down after a while, but I kept thinking that no public servant had a right to act like that. My husband is a lawyer and has never taken too much interest in the schools. But, when he heard what had happened, his attitude changed. He talked with a lot of folks around the courthouse and found out that the schools were full of what he calls politics. He explained it to me by pointing up the fact that Mr. Saundell is from one of the old families in town and that he has relatives in most of the key positions in the city government. We figured that this explained why he had been in office so long and why he could get away with being so independent.

"When my husband started calling me his 'little politician' and suggesting that I run for the school board, I thought he was kidding.

It was a good joke while it lasted, but the more I thought about it the more I liked the idea. Why, I asked myself, shouldn't a woman serve on the board? The decision was made when several friends encouraged me to go ahead and offered to help. They even chipped in a thousand dollars to finance the campaign.

"I knew it was going to be a close race so I planned my strategy carefully. The western end of the district has never been completely in sympathy with the eastern end from a political standpoint and that seemed to be the best place to start. I guess I visited a thousand homes and tried to convince people that the superintendent had built such a powerful political machine that the schools no longer belonged to the people. I didn't really know how true this was, though, until that machine went into operation against me.

"I suddenly noticed that campaign leaflets were being distributed through the principals—Mr. Saundell's 'lieutenants.' The assistant superintendent, I was told, loaded his car up and visited every school in the district. Of course, he would say that he was just making routine calls, but it was a strange coincidence that the leaflets appeared right after his visits.

"When election day rolled around my husband and I drove around to all of the polling places. A principal had been assigned to each one and they were trying to corner every voter they could. They seemed confident that their candidate, one of Mr. Saundell's cousins, would win, and we saw them laughing and talking as we drove by. They didn't know, however, just how heavy the voting was in the western end, and that's where I was strongest. You should have seen their faces when the balance finally tipped in my favor!

"Well, I was in—a full-fledged board member—but the struggle was just starting. I was outnumbered four to one and it's still that way. Now that I have been a year on the job they speak to me occasionally, but my suggestions still fall on deaf ears in the board meetings. I guess you know that our board meetings are not really open to the public, and you can see where that leaves the minority member. If more people could see what I've seen, and experience some of my frustrations in getting a few ideas examined, this dis-

trict would rise up in arms. But that's not very likely. They've got the power right in their organization and an outsider hasn't got a fighting chance."

Mrs. Miller's story, of course, reflects her own biases, but her experience illustrates some of the unfortunate consequences of an institution's being controlled by a single informal group—in this case, a family unit.

An organization's relationship to the community's informal leadership structure is of paramount importance. If the organization is a direct outlet for the interests of an influential leadership cluster, the pattern of operation is likely to reflect this concentration of power. Likewise, if the organization is composed of lesser leaders or non-leaders, different operational characteristics may be expected.

One would be mistaken to assume, however, that either one pattern or the other, or some combination of the two extremes, is of necessity "bad" or "good." A group's motivations set the directions for its leadership, and determine, in a large measure, the contribution it will make to the betterment of community living. It is in the setting of worth-while objectives, with due consideration to total community needs, problems, and aspirations, that the organized group faces its greatest challenge. Wherever people live, power exists, either actual or potential. Consequently, a major function of community leadership is to help release this power in constructive ways through the medium of organized groups.

ADD THEM UP AND YOU GET THE COMMUNITY

Looking at communities in perspective, one sees various kinds of groups and corresponding patterns of leadership. The special-interest group is commonplace, and its leadership tends to reflect the close identification of the organization with a single informal interest group. This kind of leadership looks to only one segment of the community for support and direction, and its actions usually reveal this allegiance.

On the other hand, some organizations are composed of representatives of several informal interest groups. Leadership in these groups often looks beyond a narrow special interest and consciously

seeks to serve community-wide interests. Civic organizations of this type are usually in a minority, and the kind of leadership they demand is at a premium.

One is encouraged, however, when one observes that society is so constructed as to provide institutions that exist solely for the purpose of serving all of the people. Nevertheless, the form or structure of democracy is not enough, and these groups must be examined closely to detect their characteristic methods of operation. Some are truly servants of the total community—others have transplanted the special-interest brand of leadership into a type of organization that strives to achieve broader objectives. One type tends to perpetuate democratic values; the other tends to disregard them.

Following this line of reasoning, one might conclude that the manner in which communities exercise their inherent power for self-improvement depends in part upon the relationship of organizations and institutions to the informal structure of the community. The balance that exists between special-interest groups and organizations with more cosmopolitan aims is a delicate one and must be carefully watched. If the concepts people hold of the leadership role skew this balance too far in either direction, the community can anticipate marked changes in its tempo and direction of growth. In the final analysis, conceptions of the community leader's role help shape not only the destiny of organizations but the total community as well.

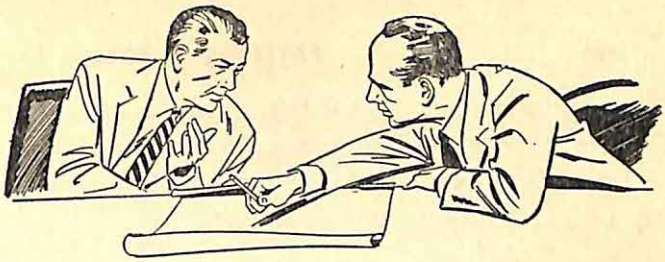
SECTION THREE

PATTERNS OF FORCES

COMMUNITY BEHAVIOR *has both rhyme and reason. Groups of people are always on the move—getting things done that they think are right and proper.*

Through such actions forces are generated. These are the push-and-pull factors that set whole communities in motion. Sometimes forces cancel out; at other times, they combine to present a unified front.

For this reason, if you seek to know your community, it is folly to look at only one community characteristic. The whole picture—the entire pattern of forces—determines what any one group can accomplish and by the same token shapes the destiny of the community.



CHAPTER SIX

GROUPS ACT AND INTER-ACT AS FORCES

NEWSPAPERS EVERYWHERE continually carry information about various community groups. One sees there such familiar announcements as WOMEN'S MUSIC SOCIETY SETS PROGRAM, LOCAL LABOR GROUP PLANS BUILDING, CATTLE RAISERS SEEK HIGHER PRICES, CHAMBER OF COMMERCE LAUNCHES NEW PLAN, and PLUMBERS MUST COMPLY WITH NEW CODE. Thus, the number of groups that might be named for even small communities seems endless. Some leads have been given in previous chapters concerning why these groups exist, how they come into being, and how they generally function in a community.

Some groups in our society, it was concluded, may reflect rather widespread beliefs and interests. These informal groups are seldom well organized, although they may represent important forces at work in a community. Growing out of these basic informal groups are the more formal, well-structured groups, which are usually referred to as clubs, civic organizations, or the like. Of course, several of these formal groups may serve as outlets for the energies of a single informal group. As related earlier, these groups also constitute community forces, even though they may vary greatly in their potential for influencing community affairs.

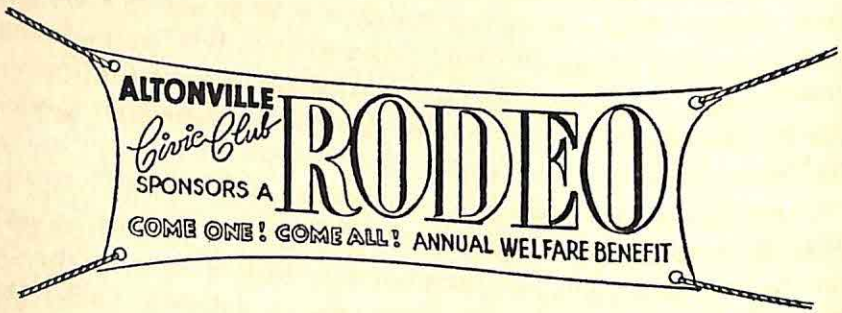
How do these formal and informal groups look in an actual com-

munity setting? What ties, if any, exist between them? How do the activities of one group impinge upon the activities of another group? Does the total action and interaction of these groups always add up to community progress?

GROUPS ARE GOAL-SEEKING

Although various community groups have been described, a much closer look at their goals or purposes is warranted. However, it must be recognized that the professed objective of a particular group may not be the purpose that really unifies the group and toward which it is striving. A group that is described as "only a social get-together" may have as its real purpose the formulation of important community political strategy. It is not difficult at all to survey the groupings in any community and find there both formal and informal groups striving toward very real purposes—purposes growing out of their beliefs and interests. The following paragraphs give examples of such groups.

Most communities have some group that aspires to exercise economic control over public affairs. This group might appear openly as a formally organized group—for example, a tax commission. It may appear in other communities as a closely knit organization of several influential people but which is not known as a formal group.



In still other communities this group might exist in the form of people dispersed throughout the entire community, people who seldom see or speak to each other but who unite as one voice when the question of public expenditures is mentioned.

Where is the community that does not have a group whose goal is unchallenged social supremacy? Of course, these groups often encounter much difficulty in finding something "worthwhile" to do. Their ultimate real objective is to bring social prestige to their membership. Parties bring newspaper write-ups and offer an opportunity to display evidences of wealth—beautiful attire, expensive automobiles, and fabulous homes. In this setting, even personal talents or academic achievements are tossed in for what they are worth.

Some loosely knit informal groups must express themselves negatively. Most communities have a group of older persons who must live on a set retirement income. Their financial, physical, and social potential has waned. They are comparatively unorganized and disinterested until something occurs that affects them. They would unite and express themselves forcefully against inflation, for example, which would tend to pinch their token income. Nevertheless, as informal groups, they also have goals that they pursue. Numerous other groups could be mentioned that act only when stimulated by some common irritant or threat to their mutual security. Innumerable groups exist that seek to protect the "sacred" traditions of the country. In some communities such groups assume the prerogative of passing judgment on what is "good," "fair," and even "true." Each community has a series of groups that are considered to be political. Likewise, under the name of various faiths and denominations religious groups exist and strive toward the accomplishment of what needs to be done in the community as they see things.

Thus, community groups are goal-seeking—they operate in terms of some purposes or objectives, even though these objectives may not be the ones commonly expressed or written in their charter. The importance of these objectives cannot be underestimated. The members of any group were accepted into its membership or merely assumed membership in view of what the group proposed to do, even though it may have proposed to do very little. Furthermore, these goals provide the cohesive force that holds the groups together. They are committed to accept one another and to work

together in view of a common problem or in the pursuit of a common objective. The range of motivation can be as varied as the range of purposes. When a group decides to "put that bond drive over," or "get rid of that blotch (roadhouse) in our community," one sees just how pointed and well motivated a group can become in terms of its stated objectives. Once groups are seen in the light of accepted goals, their actions begin to make sense. One readily sees why some groups are in constant conflict, and why the efforts of others seem to be expressed in cooperative action.

GROUPS MOVE IN MANY DIRECTIONS

Every community group possesses some conception of progress. Even though some groups have a comparatively heterogeneous membership, they can get organized and pursue some definite goal. However, in such cases the group usually places emphasis on topics that are out of bounds. These topics are deliberately placed out of bounds because, if they were pursued, the group would tend to disintegrate. Officers of formal groups would explain one of these controversial areas—for example, "We never take official action in our club on partisan matters." This, however, is not true of all groups. As indicated in the previous section, all groups do not define progress alike—they do not attempt to move in the same direction.

Sometimes community groups hold such different purposes and possess such widely varying conceptions of progress that their activities are in conflict. This was what happened in Gill Springs.

Several years ago a local chapter of a national civic club was formed in the county seat of Gill Springs. The membership in this organization was virtually unlimited—anyone who was interested in becoming a member could do so. In fact, special invitations to join the club were rendered to such prominent community leaders as Paul Simpson, J. C. Cardwell, and Joe Corsini. These men were regarded as typical "city fathers." They worked together and they were wealthy and influential. It so happened that these particular persons declined to join the club, giving such reasons as "not enough time" or "inability to be at the meetings."

The civic club struggled along for two or three years. Its meetings were not well attended, and it had few accomplishments to its credit. In fact, it generally took its cues from such men as Simpson, Cardwell, and Corsini, and tried to help where it could. In its fourth year, the club was largely responsible for two basic community improvements. It tackled the job of getting a health center at the county seat. The members felt rather lost when the city fathers turned a cold shoulder to their proposal, but they were too far into the proposition to back out. They pushed ahead and the health center became a reality. Following closely on the heels of this victory, they got behind the county school superintendent, and within six months a new elementary school building was being erected. Thus, overnight this club had become a "powerhouse." Its members had learned how to work together and how to influence other people.

Strangely enough both Paul Simpson and Joe Corsini let it be known that they were interested in joining the organization. By this time most of the members were opposed to letting them join. They remembered their positions in reference to the health department and the construction of a new school building. In fact they went so far as to pass a ruling closing the membership of the club. Thus, a group that had cooperated over a period of three years with a local power clique was now moving in a direction that made further cooperation impossible. The members of the club now saw the difference in the positions of the two groups. With comparative ease they anticipated the motives of the men who wished now to join the local chapter. As one member put it, "Sure they want in. They would stack the club and control it now if they could."

The directions in which groups move are as numerous and as varied as the purposes accepted by them. In Lakeville, a group emerged virtually overnight to bring to that small community what was described as an "exceptional cultural opportunity." It suddenly occurred to many of the citizens to bring back to Lakeville one of its own residents who had become world-famous as a concert pianist. Within this large and enthusiastic group could be found

the members of most other local groups. It appeared that there was little or nothing to be said against this engrossing purpose. Certainly there was no organized opposition.

In the town of Burton, the ministers and leading laymen in all of the faiths represented in the town got together and planned a week's program on religious tolerance. Thus, several groups with some very basic theological differences accepted a pointed objective and carried it through. Although these various faiths could not have reached agreement on such topics as faith, salvation, and the nature of God, they could agree to move in the same direction at least in terms of a specific objective.

The courses of action of some groups are channeled by their affiliation with the hierarchy of local and state politics. Other groups set their goals by deliberately ruling out politics and aiming at philanthropic or social services.

In any community, one need not expect a neat, orderly delineation of community groups. The membership of various groups overlaps. They set out deliberately to accomplish different objectives. Some groups are in direct opposition to others, inasmuch as each group is acting on the basis of what it thinks constitutes progress or in terms of its own interests. Quite often they supplement each other in striving toward a particular objective. At times, however, some groups are comparatively unrelated to others, owing to their specialized goals and interests.

GROUP CONFLICTS TEND TO RUN TO EXTREMES

Intergroup relationships within any community are continually changing. The variables that cause these changes in attitudes and actual working relationships are virtually infinite in number, although some of them are quite easily discernible. The acceptance of different goals or purposes has been pegged as a source of friction between groups. Personal prejudices of the members of one group toward some members in another group very often cause long-running, abrasive relationships between the groups. The nature of some political, economic, or civic issue might well affect intergroup relationships in a very obvious manner. These and

many other kinds of conditions and circumstances could be listed that cause groups to square off suddenly—one group against another or one or two groups against several more—and enter into severe opposition. Of course, it is equally possible that a number of little irritants accumulate to the extent that one or two groups or several others "just plain don't like" each other, and constant bickering and competition keep the relationship between them continually on edge.

An important psychological reaction generally figures in most conflicts among groups. The members of each group subconsciously realize that defeat or failure really poses some threat to their existence. When any group becomes the underdog in a contest with other groups, the bonds that hold the group together may be loosened. The group must then accept defeat, reorganize itself, and seek some new accomplishment, or it must shift its purposes so that they fall more easily within reach of the membership. This latter course of action may be readily recognized as complete rationalization, but this recognition does not diminish the fact that some course such as this must be taken by such a group. Inasmuch as a defeat or failure is a severe blow to the *esprit de corps* of any group, groups generally over-organize, over-plan, and engage in excess enthusiasm in order to assure the success of the projects they sponsor.

Meticulous planning and a careful build-up of enthusiasm accompanies most projects and activities of civic organizations. Even when the competition is not pointed, success in any venture is an essential in building a more formal type of group. A club may plan to give a New Year's Eve dance. Even though no other organization is really competing with this particular one, the members of this group want to talk about having the best, the biggest dance of the year. This element of success is seemingly so important that a group, in the absence of competition from other groups, desires to compete with itself. It will seek to surpass last year's record, it will seek to give a bigger and better dance than the one held previously, or it will seek to raise still more money for its service projects.

A good example of how group conflicts tend to run to extremes occurred in Hendersonville. This large town lies within a rural area that specializes in strawberry growing. The most important annual event in this town is the strawberry festival. It is a time when numerous social events occur, a parade is held, a queen is selected, and a large ball is given. This peaceful, progressive town vibrates with activity during the entire week of the festival. The festival poses a challenge to the five civic organizations in Hendersonville. Each one enters a float in the parade, and the club that produces the winning float fetes the queen and crowns her during the ball.

Last year competition among the clubs was shaping up as usual, although the competition seemed hotter between the Hendersonville Boosters Club and the Local Chapter of the National Civic League.

The Hendersonville Boosters Club had had the honor of crowning the queen for the past three consecutive years, and they were bragging that they were going to try now for a five-year record. This irritated the boys in the National Civic League. Then when they heard that the Boosters Club had received a contribution of one dollar from each of its members for making the best float ever,

they were really disturbed. The president of the National Civic League Chapter took the matter so seriously that he personally put up three dollars for each member of the chapter. When he turned the money over to the chairman of the committee responsible for providing the float, he said, "Here, take this. We'll make those Boosters eat their words."

The parade was held, the floats drew applause that rippled along the sidewalk, and the judges made their decisions. The float built and sponsored by the local chapter of the National Civic League won the contest. Wherever a member of the chapter was seen, he had a broad grin on his face. The members of the Hendersonville Boosters Club did not know how to act. They found the ribbing a little hard to take.

The Strawberry Festival Ball was as wonderful as ever. A big-name band had been brought in for the occasion. The warehouse where the dance was held was decorated to look like a fairyland and was packed with people from Hendersonville and from various communities throughout the neighboring counties. With great satisfaction the president of the local chapter of the National Civic League crowned a beautiful young lady as Queen of the Strawberry Festival. For most of the people there, it seemed that nothing could mar the wonderful experience they were having, and for most of them nothing did happen. However, they noticed in the paper the following day that a brief but rather brutal fight had taken place between two members of the National Civic League and three members of the Hendersonville Boosters Club. The general reaction of the people who read this brief tab in the newspapers was, "How ridiculous! Grown men scrapping like kids. They must have had more than they could hold."

This brief illustration shows how pressures between organized groups can build up and lead to extreme actions. The purposes of an organization or of the groups in conflict tend to shrink until they are nothing more than directly opposite positions. Success is valued far out of reason, and actions reveal a vast amount of over-compensation. These are some of the ways in which groups act and interact.

really succeed until they had rallied their membership to meet some threat.

Thus, conflicts between and among groups can alter their characteristics. No group comes out of a conflict possessing exactly the same characteristics it had when it entered the conflict. This does not mean to imply that the group is any better or any worse. It simply means that one can expect groups to be somewhat different, just as people are different as a result of the varied kinds of experiences they have had. More important, however, is the fact that the characteristics of groups can change basically, and that changes resulting from conflicts can affect community progress and development in a very real way.

VALUABLE GROUP ALLIANCES CAN OCCUR

As indicated previously, two or more groups that feel a common threat are very likely to unite in their efforts to overcome it. Moreover, in virtually every community some groups work together simply out of a mutual desire to do so. Although such cooperation very often does not occur—and when it does occur, sometimes does not last very long—examples of successful projects carried through by means of the mutual cooperation of several community groups are common. What are some of the factors that influence the effectiveness of intergroup cooperation?

Before groups can actually cooperate effectively, the members of each group must understand to what end they are cooperating with each other. The job of pinning down such a purpose really has many ramifications. It involves such things as who accepts this common purpose, what part does each group play in striving toward this purpose, and what final recognition will come of it? Thus, there must be some generally acceptable objective or focus that enables each group to see its job in relation to all other groups and what they propose to do.

It is equally important that each group be able to maintain some element of identity and autonomy, even though it subscribes to a particular objective. If this is not done, the members of a group tend to form new bonds and seek a place within another structure.

The matter of group identity is a rather subtle one. It does not rely so much on overt recognition as on the feeling of particular

persons. It is conceivable that several groups might work together, their respective members wearing no physical mark of distinction. Yet, each member of each group may feel that he remains perfectly identified with his own group.

The kinds of intergroup working relationships are innumerable. Virtually all of the groups in a community might go together in support of a particular project, such as providing Thanksgiving food baskets for the needy. In this manner many groups would devote their entire energies to a specific project. It is conceivable that several formal groups would join together in a continuing project that requires only a portion of any group's efforts and that lasts over an indefinite length of time. In this manner several groups might provide needed supervision for a community recreation building. The combinations of working arrangements, therefore, would be quite numerous, and many of them would make for community progress.

CONFLICT ALTERS GROUP CHARACTERISTICS

A meeting of the executive committee of a local organization was about to convene one afternoon in Stahlman's Music Store. John Stahlman was president of the organization, and he had called the boys together for a brief meeting. As four of the five members of the committee were present, Ralph Tyson commented, "It looks like Jack is tied up in that shoe store of his again. I wonder how long he'll be?"

"No telling. He'd rather miss a meal than miss selling a pair of shoes."

Al Roberts quickly added, "You mean rather than miss selling a pair of shoes to a woman, don't you?"

"Let's keep this thing clean, boys," broke in Ralph Tyson, "Jack isn't here to defend himself."

"Well, here comes the laggard. Howdy, Jack. We were just saying what a nice guy you were to take so much time away from your business, weren't we, boys?"

"Sure."

"Sure thing."

Then John got down to business by saying, "I suppose you guys know why you are here. That Better McMinnville Club has already received some auto stickers that they are going to sell as a means of raising money for the orphanage. You all know that we have stickers on order, too, and that people won't buy but so many stickers. We simply must finance our project for helping deaf children, or we are going to lose our charter and half our members as well. If we work fast we can get those stickers here and get on the streets with them before the other boys do."

"Well let's do it then," broke in Al. "Let's beat 'em to the draw. They can find some other way of financing their orphan's home."

Ralph Tyson was obviously irritated with the two men. "You guys beat all," he blurted out. "According to the purposes of our own organization, we are dedicated to support the orphanage as well as our own project for the hard-of-hearing. We're about to jerk the rug out from under the other group. I disagree with your

proposal. I say we've got to buy those stickers for our cars from them and then we've got to think up some other way to support our own project."

"You're just an idealist," mumbled Al Roberts.

"Idealist, nuts! It's just a matter of ethics."

John, looking a little uncomfortable, conceded. "Al, he's right. We can't justify pulling a sneak play on the boys. If we can't come up with some way to get a little bit of money, I guess we don't deserve to have a decent project. Well, let's get busy. Any ideas?"

These men, holding a meeting of the executive committee of a civic organization, just about fell into an untenable position. The challenge of intergroup competition, which really took the form of a threat to their own success, made some of them rather quickly and unintentionally compromise their ethics. Yet, they outgrew this threat and channeled their energies in a new direction. This represents one of many kinds of changes that can result in groups in view of a conflict with another group or several other groups.

When groups conflict, they frequently become more cohesive. That is, more of a feeling of dependence exists among the members, and they are willing to respond more readily to demands placed upon them by the organization than otherwise. Of course, it is possible that a group might lose members because of conflicts with another group, particularly a larger group or a group with a purpose to which people are more firmly dedicated. People, however, seem to have more of a tendency to unite under external pressures, and this generally accounts for the fact that organizations—formal and informal community groups—easily become more unified and more powerful in the face of a real challenge.

Groups under the pressure of various conflicts have been known to resort to severe exploitation of their own resources and membership. If the contest is severe enough, they are usually more amenable to collaboration and cooperation with groups that will accept a position similar to theirs. There is obviously a vast upswing of morale when a group or groups find that they not only have a job to do, but also have some organized resistance to their efforts to do that job. In fact, there are instances of groups that did not

Thus, valuable group alliances can occur. They can result in a total mobilization of the resources of a community and point them directly at a specific objective. It must be admitted, however, that partisan beliefs, various civic issues, and other circumstances frequently block such cooperation.

ALL GROUPS ARE IN THE GAME

Jesse Whitehead was driving his son, Earl, back to the state university for his last quarter of work there prior to graduation. The two men, father and son, had a mutual respect for each other that had developed over years of doing things together. As they drove through Colton they were silent. When they turned into the main highway, Earl commented, "Coming through Colton always depresses me. Why don't they clean up those old shacks? They look worse than a metropolitan slum area."

"Doubt the town's got the money even if they wanted to do something about it," Mr. Whitehead mumbled with an obvious lack of concern.

"Dad, this is your second time as a county commissioner. You get around and see a lot of communities. Why is one community so blind to such things as these shacks, whereas another community would be up and going tomorrow to do something about them?"

"Well, I guess the only real answer is that the people in the community, or somebody at least, must have something in their minds to use as a yardstick. I guess I can illustrate what I really mean by talking politics. You know I've always considered myself a progressive. I like to see a few changes made. Nothing radical, though. I'll go out for more bonds for schools, roads, just about anything that benefits the public in general. But, you know, the strange thing is that I'm not a progressive to everyone. Take that group over at Willhaven, for example. If I told them I was a progressive, they'd laugh in my face. In their book I'm down as a conservative, although they'd never put it that mildly. Of course, I think that they are just a bunch of irresponsibles—radicals of the first order. Yet, you know the Clinch family that owns all those acres in the northeast end of the county. They call me a progres-

sive. In fact old man Ted Clinch said to me the last time I was there, 'Jesse, I like you and I'm going to support you. But frankly, you are almost too rich for my blood.' So there you go, he was calling me too much of a progressive."

"It looks like anybody who looked at your record would know, Dad, that you're a pretty dependable progressive."

Jesse Whitehead smiled broadly and commented, "Don't you see what you're doing, son? You've fallen into a trap. You're looking at your old man's record from just about the same position politically that he has maintained all along. You see, you got indoctrinated all along the way when you were growing up and didn't even know it."

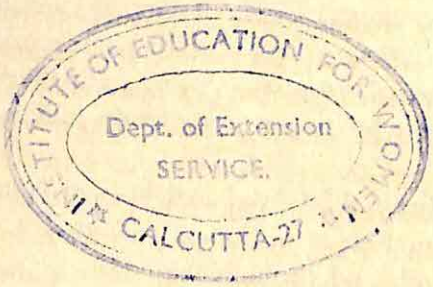
"Well, maybe I did, but I like it. And I can understand the relative positions of these groups, one to another. I can see now how you and your supporters take on a particular set of characteristics in the eyes of the public not so much because of what you really are as because of what you are in relation to other groups—to other candidates and their supporters."

"That's true, son, now you sound like a political scientist! I'm just a home-grown politician, but I've got some standards I try to stick by. But what you say is worth keeping in mind. Most groups, particularly political organizations, take their positions in reference to other stands. I guess there just isn't any such thing as a real independent. The guy who is just completely independent never is elected."

This discussion between Jesse Whitehead and his son points up the significance of the interaction of various social groups. The conversation was shot through and through with the general observation that a particular group is not the same group to all people. Their emphasis upon the interplay of one group with another also revealed that groups usually have fairly well defined goals and push toward them, and that the group in turn is pushed around by other groups that are more highly motivated and have goals that conflict with those of the more inactive groups. All groups are in the game whether they want to be or not.

All these groups in a community are a part of a pattern of forces.

All play some role in structuring living in any community. The manner in which this pattern of forces shapes up varies greatly from one community to another. Some communities seem to get along very well. They can make decisions without undue group conflicts. The efforts of various groups seem to supplement each other, and conflicts seem to be studiously avoided. Other communities appear to be in a state of continued confusion and conflict. One group seeks to block the moves of another as if they were in a giant chess game. In still other places the people resolve things through a series of compromises; and then there is the community where things just rock along for years. Thus, there is great variance in the manner in which these forces operate in communities. How do groups operate as social forces in your community? Is there a distinguishable pattern between or among the various groups there? Where does each citizen fit into this pattern of forces? What are some other forces that operate in communities?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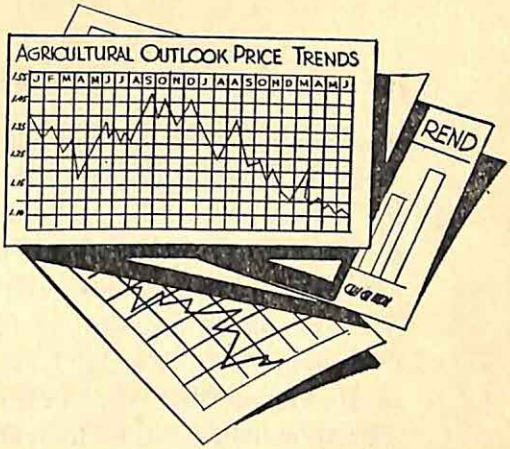


CHAPTER SEVEN

GROUPS ARE NOT THE ONLY COMMUNITY FORCES

THE HUMAN GROUP should always be considered as an actual or potential force for community betterment. A formal or informal group may move in many directions—sponsor this, finance that, promote something else, actively support one proposal, or fight bitterly for the defeat of another.

On the other hand, a group may go through periods of apparent inactivity or indifference, periods during which its influence in community life would seem to be negligible. A more careful look, however, would suggest that even in a temporarily dormant state groups possess power and exercise some kind of force in shaping their community's destiny. Satisfaction with and passive support of present conditions can mean a great deal when a total community is placed in the spotlight. It is not always what the members of a group are strongly for or against that counts; it is often at least partly a question of what things a group will allow to proceed under the sponsorship of some other group. The net result of the actions of all community groups is what really matters in total community development—not what any single group does or does not do.

Groups of all kinds have deep-seated motivations that are seldom brought to the surface and expressed openly. Even so, the force

they generate is usually revealed by the activities they support or reject, in either a passive or an active manner. The cards are on the table when a group takes a stand with reference to a specific project or activity. Consequently, some of the most important forces at work in any community—those associated with the actions of community groups—are, perhaps, the easiest to identify.

It would be a mistake, however, to stop with an identification of the forces that are outwardly visible through present community activities. Like individuals, groups or communities rarely achieve to capacity. A margin for improvement may be found in almost any informal or organized group. Naturally, this latent power varies from group to group. The race for community improvement does not begin with all groups lined up at the starting gate. Owing to their different memberships, interests, and motivations, groups invariably house different degrees of pressure potential. Some are at present more influential than others; likewise, some have a greater potential for community service than others.

The actual or potential force that a community group is able to exert depends upon many things. No group can divorce itself completely from its past record. Neither can it proceed out of relationship to what other groups are thinking and doing. This applies to non-local groups as well as those in the immediate community. Hence, provincialism in group or community action is not only an unwise policy, but also a very unrealistic one. For this reason it is imperative to examine some of the major forces in community life that are not necessarily tied to specific groups, but which, nevertheless, significantly condition the actions of all groups.

TRADITION IS A SILENT PARTNER WITH AN AX TO GRIND

"Oh, we couldn't do that—the folks wouldn't like it." This is an expression heard often in communities. It seems to suggest that a vague power known as tradition in some way prevents people from doing things that are considered by some to be wise or expedient at the moment. Of course, tradition is much more than this.

All Americans are heir to a body of beliefs, values, and practices that may be termed tradition. Within the broad limits of the American way of life, each community may be thought of as possessing its own unique interpretation of the common cultural heritage. In its own way, each community establishes norms of conduct and passes them from generation to generation. It is because of this transmittal of unique interpretations and practices that community differences are so real. Moreover, this is the consideration that makes tradition loom to the forefront as one of the major conditioners of community action.

Although the broader American tradition may appear to be quite general, it is subject to very specific interpretation in most local communities, and it is in the give-and-take of face-to-face contacts and relationships that tradition finds a specific application. Acceptable and unacceptable behavior on the part of individuals, groups, and institutions is defined and controlled, at least in part, by community traditions.

Charles Davis, superintendent of schools in a rather large district, relies very heavily upon tradition in administering the school program. This is his story of some practices that he inherited and perpetuated throughout the 25 years of his tenure as superintendent of schools.

"I don't know what you think of my teaching staff, but I'll bet they have as much understanding of their communities and school district as any group you will find any place. Ninety-five per cent of them were born and reared in this area. They went through this school system as students, and now it's their job to train another generation of teachers.

"Our theory here is that the only teacher education that's worth a plugged nickel is done on the job. You see, we don't take too much stock in college training when it comes to the selection of a teacher. 'Raise them locally and grow them on the job' is what we always say. This is how we get our administrators, too. We start them off as teachers in our small schools and gradually promote them up through the ranks. Take my administrative assistant

—he has been employed by the Belmont District Board of Education for the past 18 years and that's the only job he's ever held. My

other assistants and supervisors have had a similar experience. This is one policy of the schools that has really had the support of the public. 'Take care of the local boys first,' my board members have always told me, and I've tried to do just that.

"Of course, this isn't all we try to do through the schools to build up the county. We also buy most of our supplies from local merchants, even though we occasionally have to pay a little more for their products. We think it's only right to look out for the people in the Belmont district first. Charity begins at home, I've always heard.

"Now, I'll admit there's a bunch of newcomers in the district who have been giving me a little trouble with these policies for the past few years. They talk a lot about the importance of college training and experience in different places when it comes to hiring teachers. They just don't seem to care whether an applicant is from the Belmont School District or not, and they have the same kinds of ideas on purchasing school supplies. I honestly believe

they would just as soon let a contract to a firm in China if they could save a few pennies.

"I'm not worried about them, though. They're outsiders and most of the people in the county know it. I've had these policies for 25 years and my predecessor had them before me. I'll be retired before this new group can do anything to change what we have spent so many years building up."

Superintendent Davis's administrative policies obviously reflect a tradition of local pride that is very provincial in nature. The strong attachment he feels to local residents has apparently resulted in a form of institutional in-breeding and business practices that are not always the most economical. Perhaps the tradition could have been broken, but it was not. Rather, the policies of the Belmont School District have been built upon an unwritten policy of conformity with previous practices and unquestioning allegiance to community traditions.

Community traditions not only lend support to certain policies and programs that groups and institutions undertake, but also tend to dictate a general attitude toward change of any sort. Communities grow accustomed to moving at a certain pace, and any activity that tends to increase the tempo of change invariably encounters resistance. Likewise, when the traditional rate of change is slowed down or stifled, a period of adjustment can be anticipated. Tradition permeates all aspects of community life, including the relationships that exist between individuals and groups. Bill Dunn, Route Director of the Williamsburg Transit Company, made this discovery the hard way. This is his account of an issue that he will long remember.

"I really got into a hornet's nest a few years ago with a bus route in the Meadow Bluff community, which is a large suburb of Williamsburg. I thought at first that I caused all of the trouble, but now I realize I just got in on the end of a fight that had been going on for a long time.

"It all started when I was looking over my route charts one day and woke up to the fact that we had two busses running over the same stretch of road. The overlapping route was the three or

rather specific job descriptions for public servants. This was a disconcerting revelation for Bill Madden when he assumed his duties as the new principal of the Wilson City High School. This is his story of his first major encounter with the force of tradition.

"My first few weeks in Wilson City couldn't have been more pleasant. I was just out of graduate school and very anxious to get to work. The people made me feel right at home in the community and it wasn't long before I was referring to the school as 'my school.'

"From all outward appearances it seemed that I had picked an ideal spot to help develop the kind of school program I had always envisioned. During the first half of the school year I spent a lot of time just looking over the school and talking with the children, parents, and teachers. Nothing very eventful happened during this period, and I was just beginning to feel secure enough to make some definite suggestions for improvement. But this was when it all happened.

"Without notice, one of my teachers suddenly resigned. A replacement shouldn't be too difficult to obtain, I thought, so I contacted the county superintendent of schools. At first I didn't think anything about it when he said he would have to check with one of the board members and call me back. The call didn't come through that day but an unexpected visitor explained everything.

"I had never met Mr. Smith, the board member who lived in Wilson City, but I had heard about him. The rumor was that he had given my predecessor some trouble, but I had dismissed it with the thought that nothing like that could happen to me. Well, it didn't take Mr. Smith long to explain his presence in the school. The superintendent had just called him, he said, and mentioned the fact that we had a vacancy. 'Now don't you worry about a thing,' he assured me. 'I have just the person for you. My niece, Betty, went over to State College for a couple of years, and she can be ready to go to work Monday. You make all of the necessary arrangements here at the school and I'll clear her appointment with the other board members.' 'But,' I protested, 'isn't it customary for teachers to be hired on the recommendation of the superin-

tendent?' 'Now, you let me handle him,' Mr. Smith replied. 'I'm the board member from the Wilson City district, and I always take care of this school.'

"I still wasn't satisfied, so after Mr. Smith left I called the superintendent. For some reason he seemed hesitant about discussing the matter but ended up by saying, 'That's the way they've done it around here and I haven't been able to change things. Of course, I know all the theories about boards of education but there are some things you don't change overnight. We've just had the county unit organization for a few years, and Mr. Smith hasn't yet accepted the idea that he is supposed to represent all of the people in the county and not just the Wilson City district. Legally, a board member has no authority to act alone, and he certainly has no business hiring teachers without my recommendation. But that's one of the problems we'll just have to put up with. Maybe in time we can do something about it, but for now you go ahead and accept his niece for the position.'

"After this conversation I hardly knew what to think. Could this really be true, I wondered. And the more I thought the more provoked I became. If it hadn't been for my contract, I guess I would have resigned right then, but I decided to stick it out. I consoled myself with the thought that this might be an unusual problem and that a similar situation would not arise again. For a while things ran quite well. Of course, Mr. Smith's niece was no more of a teacher than I had expected her to be, but I stopped worrying about her and turned my thoughts to other matters.

"Pretty soon it was spring and we were working hard to wind up the school year. Since I had been so preoccupied with class nights, senior plays, and the like, I was really surprised when one of the local merchants called me aside and asked if I had started making my round of the board members. He saw the puzzled look on my face and proceeded to explain. 'Didn't you know that the principal who wants to be re-elected always has to go around and see each of the board members? If you don't, they simply won't vote for you—you can count on that!' As far as I was concerned this was the last straw. If this was what it took to keep the job,

I informed my friend, they could just give it to someone else. Moreover, this was the same thing I told the superintendent when he called a few days later to ask the same question. 'You've been a good principal,' he said, 'and I'll do what I can to get you re-elected, but I can't guarantee anything if you are going to insist on this point.'

"Well, the board meeting finally rolled around and I heard indirectly that the superintendent did all he could for me. He succeeded in winning over two board members, but the final vote was three to two for my replacement."

With his dismissal, Mr. Madden learned that every new functionary inherits a pattern of operation that may or may not coincide with his personal beliefs. A traditional pattern of operation may, and often does, deal with the specific functions that are associated with a given institutional position. Moreover, tradition tends to dictate policies and programs that influence not only one position in an institution but several. If a school principal breaks with the traditional way of working, he may indirectly alter the job of the teacher, the superintendent, and the board of education. This is one factor that makes tradition such a powerful force in shaping the activities of any institution.

Traditional practices often reappear in disguised forms many years after a new pattern of operation has been established. This characteristic of tradition confronted Tom Huff, Superintendent of Schools in Clay County, when he launched a campaign for an increased tax levy for school improvement. This is his story.

"In this county we have a constant struggle to operate in terms of the county unit philosophy. Only 20 years ago we had 12 district school boards in the county and great differences existed in school programs from district to district. The wealthy districts could afford fairly good schools, but the others were decidedly substandard. When we changed over to the county unit plan of organization, all the districts were placed under a single administration. This made it possible to equalize educational opportunities throughout the county, and we have always allocated our funds to the schools on the basis of the greatest need.

"During the first few years of the county unit we had a great deal of opposition from the three wealthiest districts, but their complaints got fewer and fewer as the years passed. We have gained support with each successive year but you can always expect the old district philosophy to pop up again from time to time.

"When we were working for an increased levy last year, it just about slipped up on us—and from the most unexpected source. Mr. Bill Nash has served on the board of education ever since the county unit was formed. In fact, he was the first chairman of the county board, and through the years he has been an ardent supporter of our efforts to equalize opportunities. If anyone understood the program, we felt that Bill Nash did. However, when we were working on the proclamation that tells the voters how the money will be spent I got a call from Mr. Nash. He said that he had worked out a plan of his own that would get plenty of support. The plan was simply to allocate the money back to the districts in which it was raised and let them decide how it should be spent. He didn't realize, until I pointed it out, that he was advocating a complete reversal of the theory on which we had operated for the past 20 years. It was just that he hadn't thought through his plan far enough to see that it was based on the old district concept.

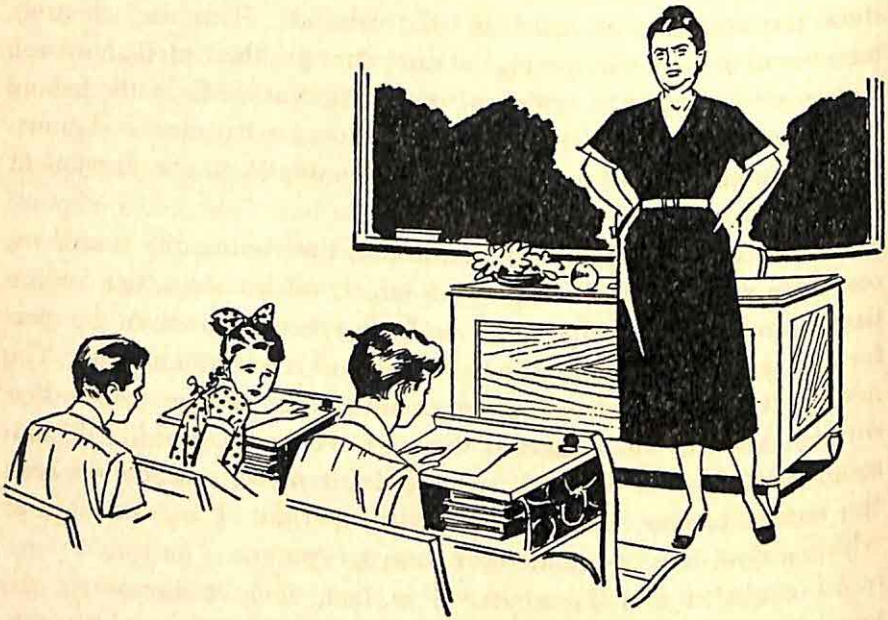
"Our levy went through all right and in the proper form, but it could have very easily turned the other way. I'd say it will take at least 50 years for most of the people to accept the new concept of a single county administrative unit."

When decisions are made and new policies come into being, the force of tradition is often felt. Sometimes it is deliberately capitalized upon and expressed in such terms as, "We've tried it this way and know it works—why change now?" At other times it is more subtle, operating in such a way that even those who use it as a crutch fail to realize what they are doing. Regardless of its recognition, however, the force of tradition is always with us. It influences the big decisions we make as well as many little practices that we never take time to rationalize or explain.

Mrs. Jane Patten, Supervisor of Instruction in the Davison County school system, thinks of tradition in terms of classroom practices

and teaching techniques. To her, tradition is always evident in the approach that a teacher uses in working with children. This is her observation.

"I know a number of teachers who are bound to tradition. Mrs. Mitchell is a good example. She has been in our in-service education program for seven years, and to hear her talk you would think she is the best teacher in the county. She has practiced manuscript writing until her penmanship is almost perfect, but she still teaches cursive writing to her first graders. She also talks about the importance of helping children develop creative ability through self-



expression, but I have yet to see a single piece of art work in her classroom. She never admits that she isn't following the newer ideas, but we know she just uses the teaching manuals and other materials as dust catchers. When you mention working with the community she usually says, 'My community wouldn't stand for any change—they don't want anything to do with these newfangled ideas.' I could tell you other things about her, but it would all

be about the same. We are a little discouraged after seven years but we are still trying.

"We have another school with an interesting tradition. A voice is never raised in the classroom—the children actually whisper to each other and the teacher. When I first visited the school I thought something was wrong, but the teacher said it had always been that way. I found that hard to believe, so I checked with a resident of the community who had been in the first class at that school 30 years ago. He said that the belief in the community has always been that children came to school to be seen and not heard. The parents, according to him, have always thought that it was their responsibility to discipline the children. This may be true, too, because we've never had a discipline problem in that school. There are many little evidences of tradition at work in the school program. Some are rather annoying, others are harmless and amusing, and some are actually helpful in planning for the improvement of instruction."

As one examines the many ramifications of community traditions, one finds them permeating group-to-group relationships, demanding that certain services be rendered and specific functions be performed, giving sanction to one practice and rejecting another. The net effect is a general outlook on social change and progress. Tradition, therefore, is a most powerful force in establishing a community's definition of need. Moreover, it places controls on both the nature of the changes that will be permitted and the rate at which a new idea or practice can gain acceptance.

All tradition is not restrictive; in fact, some communities are geared to progress through a tradition of adaptability and change. In such a setting, new ideas often receive the serious consideration of many people, people who are anxious to capitalize not only on the best the past has to offer but on the present and future as well.

People are continually in the process of building community traditions, which in turn become the heritage of tomorrow. It is possible, therefore, for a community to give purposeful direction to its activities and to guide progress in such a way that tradition will work for community improvement. Tradition cannot be

ignored, but it need not enslave. Continuous progress in community development comes about as people learn not to place tradition above critical examination. In this way beliefs are held as a basis for action and can serve as a constructive and consistent force for improvement.

CONCEPTIONS OF ROLE CAN SET THE LIMITS OF ACHIEVEMENT FOR COMMUNITIES

In previous chapters, people's personal beliefs have been referred to as the basic values that motivate them, that bring them together as groups in common enterprises, and which—when these beliefs are widely accepted and acted upon—characterize an entire community. These same beliefs also provide both individuals and groups with a basis for arriving at conceptions of the roles of various community officers, agencies, and institutions. Thus, individual citizens, formal and informal community groups, and the community at large expect a judge, a school teacher, a principal, or a minister to demonstrate a specific pattern of behavior. "A school board," ex-board-member Harvey Tilman states conclusively to his neighbor, "should make the policies for the proper operation of the schools. The superintendent is the man to carry out these policies. A board member shouldn't run around here trying to get a substitute teacher; that's the superintendent's problem, that's his job." In this way, Mr. Tilman prescribes distinct roles for board members and for the superintendent, and these roles are very different.

Since conceptions of role stem from basic values and operational beliefs, they also serve as a distinct force in community life. A person forms concepts about many things—his friends and neighbors, his community, its groups and organizations, and even himself. These concepts of individual responsibilities and the roles of one's fellow men are more than fleeting opinions; they are well founded convictions, supported very often by tradition as well as personal beliefs.

One of the most important things about which one forms concepts is the over-all status of one's community. Usually this con-

cept finds expression in one's satisfaction or dissatisfaction with present conditions. Naturally, one finds differences of opinion in any community—differences that tell a lot about individual citizens as well as the general nature of the community. A person is inclined to see things not as they are but as he is. To the "conservative" a seemingly static community may be progressing. To a "liberal" it may be losing ground. Whatever a person's judgment is on this point, however, it will significantly influence his thinking about the role of his community's organizations and institutions.

The force of conceptions of role is usually most evident within an organized working group. It is in this setting that a job must be performed and services rendered. Consequently, even the concepts that people have never openly expressed are demonstrated by the decisions they make in association with others and the nature of the program they help to build.

A person tends to form two sets of concepts—or more precisely, two levels of judgment—when he thinks of his responsibilities and the duties of his fellow workers. He has a belief about what they are and what they should be. Of course, these two ideas often overlap or coincide. Little change takes place in an institution—such as a public school system—when these concepts are identical. Likewise, a feeling of unrest or dissatisfaction leading toward some kind of change can be expected when there is a wide gap between the aspirations of people and present practices.

The members of the staff of an institution tend to look first and foremost at the parts they play as individuals. However, they also form concepts of the total job that the staff is attempting to perform. In other words, people size up their fellow workers as well as themselves. Subconsciously they develop a mental picture not only of their own place in the whole scheme of things, but also of the place of every other person associated with the enterprise.

Eventually the beliefs of various staff members are shared and their understandings are developed. On this basis informal job descriptions emerge and gain the recognition of all concerned. Hence, the manner in which a community institution operates re-

flects a network of role concepts ranging from each person's definition of his own role to a shared belief concerning the total job of the staff.

Superintendent of Schools John Preston felt the full impact of conceptions of role when he launched a system-wide in-service education program for his teachers and principals. He had always taken pride in the apparent agreement among his staff members concerning the services the schools were attempting to render. He felt confident that this agreement reflected a shared philosophy of educational leadership that provided a solid foundation for productive working relationships. However, through the introduction of a program that reflected his understanding of these common beliefs, he readily discovered that there were hidden interpretations of the school's aims and objectives. In fact, it soon became apparent that there were several distinct sets of concepts operating to influence the school program. This is his story of an experiment that gave him a new appreciation of conceptions of role as forces.

"When we started our community-school study, a number of agreements were reached by all the principals of the county. First of all, they established the general principle that all teachers and many school patrons should be given an opportunity to participate in the program. It was their feeling that widespread involvement would tend to improve community-school relationships. Also, they suggested that more could be accomplished by using the talents of many people.

"With this in mind, they proceeded to discuss what we would study. An agreement was subsequently reached that we should attempt to find out what the patrons wanted their children to get from attending the public schools. A part of this proposal was that a considerable amount of data should be compiled on each school community—the educational level of the population, and so forth. They seemed to feel that this background information would be necessary for an adequate interpretation of the beliefs of the people.

"It was an ambitious undertaking and obviously one that would require a lot of time and effort. More than this, it would necessi-

tate a high level of teamwork and real leadership on the part of the principals. I knew that it would be a new experience for many teachers and that some frustration could be expected. What I didn't anticipate, however, was the reaction that we got from some of the very principals who had helped outline the year's work. When the program really got under way, it was apparent that some of our people had quite a different concept of their job from the one they had expressed in our planning meetings, and—I might add—a concept quite different from the one held by our central administrative staff. We really didn't know our principals until we tried this project—and I guess this revelation may turn out to be one of the study's greatest values. Let me tell you about three of our principals who handled the same situation in three distinctly different ways. I'll just substitute 'Smith,' 'Jones,' and 'Brown' for their real names.

"Mr. Smith has held his present position for the past seven years and has apparently had very little friction with his teachers. He's the kind of man who likes to do counseling work with individual teachers but avoids group work if he possibly can. He likes to describe himself as an 'idea planter.' If you were to ask him how he 'planted' an idea, he would probably tell you about the special music program that he has in his school. He got that project started by casually remarking to a teacher that it might be worth considering. Throughout the next three years he gave subtle encouragement to anyone who brought the idea up again, and finally the program came into being. He would tell you that this is the only way to bring about change in a school program—you just plant an idea and sit back to watch it grow.

"The teachers in his school have always been very independent—in fact, the critics of Mr. Smith say that he just has a bunch of one-room schools under a single roof. You can see how teachers who have grown accustomed to this way of working would agree with Mr. Smith's theory of leadership. If an idea is advanced with which they disagree, they simply do nothing. Now, Mr. Smith hasn't always gotten along this well with his community. The public has failed to understand his lack of interest in group meet-

communities. In other words, he wanted to know how the residents of Edgewood related themselves to the county seat. Did they attend church in the other community? Were they members of its organizations? Or was it merely a shopping center?

On this point the children had something to say. One little boy remarked, "I always go to the movie in Centerville on Saturday afternoon." "Yeah," said another, "that's where I get my hair cut and that's where dad buys the feed for the stock." "And my mama buys groceries in Centerville and sometimes gets her hair fixed," added one of the girls.

"Well," observed Mr. Lewis, "you seem to do a lot of things in Centerville. Do your parents belong to any organizations in that community? Do any of you go to church in Centerville?" This time there was a definite negative reply. Not a single child could think of an organization to which either of his parents belonged. Moreover, not one child had ever attended church in the neighboring community.

Feeling that there might have been some mistake, Mr. Lewis asked the parents who were present if the children were correct in their observations. "Yes, they are," replied one of the mothers. "So far as I know, no one in Edgewood is a member of a group outside of the community." "Are you saying then," he asked, "that outside of this church and school the adult citizens have no formal means of getting together to discuss common problems or to work on projects that would make the community better?" "Yes," she replied, "that's the way things are. Of course, we do visit in each other's homes occasionally, but we just don't go in for organizations out here."

"But where," asked one of the newer supervisors, "does the school fit into the picture?" "Well, I'll tell you how it is," replied the teacher. "You know that I don't live in this community and that I have to get home in the evenings to get supper for my family. It would be very difficult for me to get back to the school and let people in, even if they wanted to use the building. However, no one ever thinks about using the school for a community activity. I guess you would say the school just works with children during

the school day and that the adults make other arrangements if they want to get together."

It was obvious by this time that Edgewood perhaps had some problems that even its citizens did not recognize. This was a community almost completely void of opportunities for group association. The staff then moved to some other questions, for obviously the picture was still incomplete.

How do these people get along with one another? Is there conflict in the community, indifference, interdependence, or cooperation? How do they get along with the neighboring communities? What does it mean for the quality of human relationships in the community when people make no provision for getting together and cooperatively attacking their problems? These are some of the questions that were posed by the administrative staff.

The reaction of the group to these questions was summed up finally by the parents. One said, "Oh, we get along just fine—there's no conflict here—we just let each other alone." "That's right," added another lady, "we are friendly, of course, but our philosophy out here is live and let live." "I agree with that," commented the teacher. "Edgewood is the kind of community where people go their own way without too much concern for the other person—'live and let live' expresses it very well."

With this information the staff knew that they were dealing with a highly individualistic community. Group work was largely unplanned and incidental, and this characteristic of the community seemed to be consistent with the desire of the people to live somewhat apart from their neighbors. Surely this must influence the kinds of problems that the community faces, thought one of the assistant superintendents, so he framed this idea as a question and turned to the parents for an answer.

"It's just like we said before," explained one of the ladies. "We get along all right. I guess we just don't have any problems. Of course, we know that we haven't got the best community in the world, but we are pretty well satisfied with things as they are. If there are any problems, no one seems to be getting too excited over them."

ings, and he has likewise experienced some frustration in planting an idea for the consideration of an entire community.

"This was the pattern of leadership with which Mr. Smith entered our community-school study. It was one that reflected his best thinking concerning his role as an educational leader and also the beliefs of his teachers. However, it was a way of working that was to give him difficulty in the new program.

"Before he realized what had happened a tremendous job lay before him on his desk. He had long since forgotten our original agreements concerning the involvement of teachers and patrons and viewed the new problem in terms of his usual pattern of working.

"His first impulse was to call a teacher into his office and casually suggest that the entire staff might want to undertake the study. But, this thought frightened him. Never before had he attempted to plant such a big idea! Furthermore, he glanced at the deadlines that had been established for the completion of the job, and he saw no possibility of even a small idea blossoming into a project in so short a period of time.

"He considered a faculty meeting, but pictures of a minor teacher revolt flashed through his mind. Hadn't the teachers always done about as they pleased? He next considered the school patrons, but as usual the thought of group work frightened him away. There was only one course of action left—he would simply have to do it himself.

"After he had burned the midnight oil for several weeks a few sympathetic teachers discovered his plight and offered to help. The job will be completed, but he and his faculty will never achieve the basic purposes of the in-service program, purposes that have to do with the involvement of people in a common undertaking—teachers, patrons, and, of course, the principal. Nevertheless, this was his conception of the principal's job and the part his teachers and the public could play. It was the only way he knew to handle the situation.

"Mr. Jones reacted to our new project in quite a different manner. He's a tall, stately gentleman who prides himself on his public

speaking ability, and throughout his career he has held numerous offices in civic and professional organizations. He also takes pride in his support of county administration policies and moves with dispatch to put into action any suggestion that comes from the superintendent's office.

"Mr. Jones has a smooth-running school that gives the appearance of an orderly, well-managed business establishment. His teachers, however, have never been in complete agreement with his administrative leadership. The more vocal ones say that he is a 'buck passer,' some call him an 'apple polisher,' and others simply refer to him as an 'autocrat.' The universal complaint is that he issues orders instead of making suggestions and that he rarely, if ever, actually works on something himself. His relationship with his community produces mixed reactions. Some people are impressed by his speech-making ability; others contend that he is just a 'bag of wind' who gives the impression of having all the answers.

"With a rather definite concept of his own role, a different concept held by his teachers, and a mixed reaction in the community, Mr. Jones proceeded with the community-school study. He promptly called a staff meeting, parceled out jobs, and set deadlines. The purposes of the study were not mentioned or discussed. Rather, his explanation was simply that the county office had given him an order and that he was passing it on. He didn't involve any laymen for two reasons. In the first place, he couldn't order them around, and in the second place, he wasn't sure he could win them over without getting into the thick of things himself.

"We had what amounted to a teacher revolt in Mr. Jones's school because of the widely divergent concepts of the job to be done. I saw the job one way, the principal saw it another way, and the teachers had still another opinion. It is now apparent that Mr. Jones, like Mr. Smith, will not be able to provide the kind of leadership that will be required to meet the purposes of our in-service education program.

"Fortunately, we discovered a more promising leadership type in Mr. Brown. Until the study came along I had never appreciated

this man for his real worth. He never puts himself in the limelight, although he participates freely in group meetings. If you watch him carefully, you'll notice that he always pushes other people ahead and then sees to it that they succeed.

"I have always been impressed with the atmosphere in his school. There is freedom and yet order. His teachers are invariably busy, and they seem really to enjoy their work. Some kind of a project is usually under way that involves his total teaching staff and the school patrons. One year it was a community cannery, and just recently it was a summer recreation program. It's just one of those situations in which everyone seems to have a pretty clear understanding of the other person's job and a healthy respect for the contribution the other person can make. This unified concept of the job, reinforced by a number of years of successful group work, gave Mr. Brown a head start on his co-workers, Mr. Smith and Mr. Jones, when the county study was launched.

"His first step was to call a staff meeting, but, unlike Mr. Jones, he did not immediately issue orders. The study was explained and then discussed freely and openly. The total job was defined by the group and the various parts were assigned to small committees. Shortly thereafter another meeting was held and laymen were invited to participate.

"With this kind of teamwork the study was conducted with ease. No one carried a burden that was too heavy, and all of the participants seemed to take pride in their accomplishments. Mr. Brown's faculty completed the field work in connection with the study before Mr. Smith and Mr. Jones had even started. But that was only the beginning. They immediately followed up with a series of public meetings designed to point up community and school needs in light of their findings. We are not sure what the final outcomes will be, since the work is still in progress, but we are convinced that Mr. Brown's leadership will result in a progressively better school and community. This was, of course, our hope for all of the schools, but it appears that certain kinds of leadership are required for realizing the maximum benefits from a program of this type.

"This is what our new in-service education project revealed—

several distinct patterns of leadership growing out of the beliefs of the respective school staffs. Obviously, the concepts that these people—and particularly our principals—hold concerning the role of the educational leader carry more weight than we had realized. The task that confronts us now is to develop a consistent way of working, based upon the best practices and the soundest beliefs that are being expressed through our school program."

The concepts Superintendent Preston identified in his school system exercise, perhaps, more influence in determining actual practices than any legal requirement or official job description. Such concepts are formed with or without complete information regarding the demands and the opportunities of the job. The people concerned may or may not have consciously thought through the positions they take. These factors definitely condition the kinds of convictions that people hold, but they do not mean that role concepts can ever be ignored or discounted.

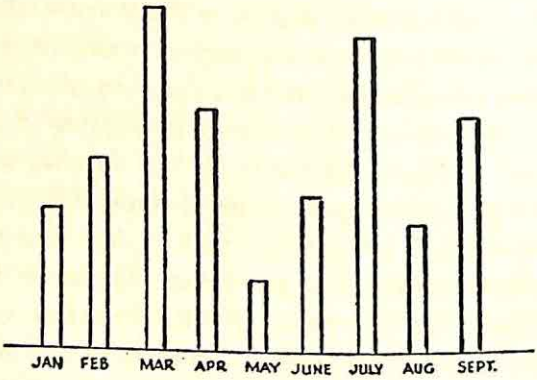
In the final analysis, the total pattern and range of concepts within a given community or institution determine the efficiency with which people work together for their mutual gain. Reasonable differences in beliefs held by people who share responsibilities for a job can point the way toward improved operation. However, a great divergence of opinions and understandings can result in confusion and inefficiency.

Role concepts constitute such a powerful force in a working group that any basic changes in the existing method of operation must await changes in beliefs. Additional information often helps people re-think the position they have taken with reference to their job. However, the providing of carefully planned new experiences, such as those described by Superintendent Preston, seems to be the most effective and promising means by which concepts are changed.

Individuals, groups, and communities, then, are greatly influenced by the traditions they inherit and the judgments and beliefs that are held concerning their respective roles. Moreover, these forces take on even greater meaning when they are viewed in perspective with another very significant force—long-range trends that stem from social, economic, and physical changes.

PEOPLE ARE GEARED DIRECTLY TO THE WHEELS OF TIME

All communities are influenced by cultural, social, and economic trends that emerge from the obscure past. These trends cause a community's heritage to be anything but static. They constitute a moving, dynamic force composed of actual changes. Moreover, they penetrate the experience of people and force them into an awareness of the passing of time, and an awareness also of the inevitable multitude of changes that occur continuously.



The ingredients of these trends are the people themselves, their beliefs, their actions, and their possessions—all varying with each succeeding week, month, or season. Such ingredients definitely point toward the future of the community and suggest the possibility of predicting, within broad limits, the kinds of developments that are likely to occur in the years to come. Although any community, county, or metropolitan area would have a complex of trends, a single dominant trend, which exists in a particular setting, can usually be identified as an illustration of these basic changes that affect community life.

An example of a trend toward industrialization exists in the Christolph community: in 1940 the community had only three industries within its borders, but now it boasts a total of 17. Bladensboro has been operating a "Recreation Center for the Tired and

Retired" as a part of its five-year program for making life more enjoyable for the aged. Bostick County has had a population upswing from 40,000 in 1940 to 52,000 in 1950. A trend in Montgomery County has been toward increasing the acreage under cultivation. A total of 102,000 acres was under cultivation a decade ago. Now, owing to an increased demand for farm products and more modern farm machinery, the number of acres under cultivation has risen to 198,000. The Womack community has shifted to a policy of deficit spending, a course of action that has raised its indebtedness from $14,200 eight years ago to $68,000 at the present. Most of this amount has gone for resurfacing city streets. Altonville discovered a unique population trend: over a ten-year period while this city showed only a 3 per cent gain in population, the suburban area surrounding Altonville showed a gain of 208 per cent. Thus, a significant trend toward urbanization was uncovered as well as an extremely large increase in population.

In spite of the force and impact of long-standing trends, communities are often unable to identify the changes that are gradually but surely altering their way of life. Sometimes people lend support to these movements without knowing it. Others may deliberately seek to speed up the tempo of a trend they consider to be in the best interests of the community. Of course, occasionally an effort is made to take the opposite position and attempt to impede or even reverse a trend that is considered harmful.

The long-range trend is extremely difficult to alter or re-direct, for it is often looked upon as a kind of tradition within itself. However, a crisis or major social upheaval may significantly influence existing trends and set in motion powerful counter-trends. Also, it is possible for some trends to be controlled and guided by means of careful planning and concerted action on the part of community residents. Such an approach has great potential; unfortunately, however, it is capitalized upon by few communities. The typical community usually rides the crest of the waves and perpetuates the trends that are currently under way.

Tuscombe County is a typical rural county that depends heavily upon agriculture to provide its economic base. The residents live

well, although they know that many people consider them to be behind the times. People who return to the county are inclined to observe, "Well, a few years haven't made much difference in Tuscombe. Nothing much has been added, but everyone seems to be making ends meet by working hard and steady." Most of the communities in the county were cut from the same rural pattern: a drugstore, a post office, a school, a few basic supply stores, and maybe a movie.

In most ways, Tuscombe County today is no different from the Tuscombe County of five or ten years ago. The residents seldom ask themselves why so little change ever occurs: no new businesses, few new residents, no expanded market for agricultural products, the usual farming routine, no hot elections. Some few people had begun to think that maybe their "stable" economy could more fittingly be described in other terms. Only teen-agers pulled no punches when they referred to the county. "Tuscombe," they would openly quip, "is a good place to drop dead and not be missed!" But their comments were disregarded as the irresponsible voices of children.

These were the conditions young Bill Gary was turning over in his mind as he sought to make an important personal decision. He had finished college, and now he had to decide whether to enter into a partnership with his father or go into the wholesale grocery business with his uncle in Charlestown, a large city 30 miles from the county seat of Tuscombe. He wanted to stay in the county, but he could not see much of a future there. The store, neatly labeled "Wm H. Gary—General Merchandise," had not altered its appearance for as long as he could remember. Did this mean that the same store under the name of "Wm H. Gary & Son—General Merchandise" would also just rock along for the next 20 years? If this was the only future such a partnership held, Bill was not interested. Yet, for some reason, he couldn't make the decision to go to the city with his uncle without knowing why the county was so apathetic.

Bill asked a lot of questions but received only general, evasive answers. "Why, there's nothing wrong with Tuscombe. What

d'ye want to happen? Lots of shootin's, robberies, and excitement like they have in big cities?" "You're just one of these young fellows who wants to get rich overnight. Well, Tuscombe isn't the place for that. We're just peaceful, hard-working citizens like your dad." No matter what kind of questions Bill posed to the residents, he was always misunderstood.

As Bill struggled to arrive at a decision, another argument came into the picture. It suddenly dawned upon Bill that there were very few people in the county around his age. His social life would definitely be limited if he decided to stay there. This struck Bill as not being typical of a normal community and called to his mind some characteristics of population trends that he had picked up in an introductory sociology course. He dismissed this concern and once again tried to settle on one of the two choices that lay before him, but his mind kept telling him that something must be causing Tuscombe to be such a backward county. He resolved to postpone his decision until he could talk the proposition over with his uncle in Charlestown.

While on this visit to Charlestown, Bill quite accidentally made a significant discovery about his county. He was returning some library books for his aunt and decided, just out of curiosity, to look up Tuscombe County in the newly published U. S. Census reports that were being displayed on one of the tables in the library. He discovered what appeared to be a mass exodus of young people from the county. Pursuing this interest further, he discovered that for the past 40 years both male and female residents between the ages of 15 and 29 years of age left the county in large numbers. Just like flashes of light, the meaning of this discovery came to his mind: people during that age span usually want to get ahead . . . the county has borne the expense of educating these young people, then they've moved away . . . only the people who may have failed elsewhere come back to settle down . . . Tuscombe just has an "old" population . . . Charlestown is draining off the cream of the county for its labor markets, and you can't blame the young people for leaving.

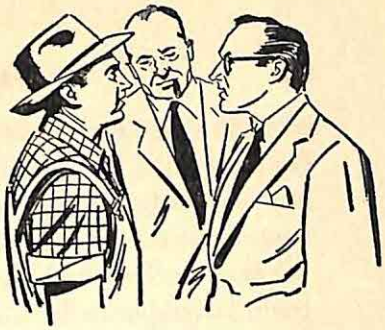
As a result of this experience, Bill Gary knew the solution to his

problem. He had emotional attachments to Tuscombe County. He envisioned the nice country home he would like to have there, but he knew that this was a vision that could never come true. Now he could tell his uncle that he was ready to take a try at the wholesale grocery business in Charlestown, for he knew that he could never buck the deeply seated socio-economic trend that was throttling Tuscombe County.

Tuscombe County may be different from other counties or communities in the nature of the trends that are influencing the life of its citizens. However, it is not unique in being caught in the grip of a movement that represents an accumulation of decisions and events. Something is happening to any and all communities—conditions are changing—but the changes always have some relationship to what has gone before.

A particular time or circumstance may call for its own interpretation of the past, but viewed in perspective the past and present blend together in a moving and dynamic fashion. Present-day trends are always linked to decisions regarding changes that have been made in previous years.

The decisions that are made today, the beliefs that are held concerning a community's status, and the groups that take part in community affairs are not the only forces associated with community progress; the influence of traditions, concepts of role held by one's fellow men, and major socio-economic trends figure in the picture. These pressures intermingle in community life to produce a moving pattern of forces that profoundly influences the nature of a community and the lives of the people in it.



CHAPTER EIGHT

COMMUNITY FORCES FORM VARIED PATTERNS

ALTHOUGH PEOPLE in the United States possess widely divergent origins, it is almost a truism to point out that these same people share a common culture and a unique history. The American way of life is built upon a foundation of beliefs not duplicated in any other country in the world. However, as one moves from place to place in this vast country, he finds that the freedom enjoyed by the American people has fortunately prevented communities from being poured into a common mold. A democracy protects the right of communities to be different, but this right would seem to carry with it a corresponding obligation for people to understand the forces at work in their community and to plan intelligently for its continued growth and development.

Communities everywhere take on characteristics that reflect the predominant local definition of the "good life." Individuals, family groups, organizations, and communities are constantly struggling to achieve goals that they consider to be worthy of their efforts. However, some communities seem to have noticeably more success than others in pulling together toward common objectives. Some apparently start self-improvement projects with two strikes against them; others are fortunate in already having many forces at work for their betterment. "Push and pull factors," then, vary from community to community. Forces are at work in all communities, and

from time to time they present a united front for total community development. This can happen by mere chance, but it occurs more often when people deliberately set out to identify and attempt to control the forces that shape their community's destiny.

Previous chapters have emphasized the fact that people look at their communities in different ways, and that this difference in viewpoint partly accounts for actual differences in community potential. To some, a community is nothing more than a group of people who by accident of birth happen to live and work in the same general locality. Of course, these people do things in groups from time to time, but they rarely give much thought to the idea of planning the future of a community. To them, the future "just happens"—it could not be planned for, they say, because the behavior of people is not sufficiently predictable. From this point of view, communities are merely aggregations of individual citizens who think one way today and another way tomorrow. People can plan their individual lives within broad limits, but total community development in such a setting defies cooperative effort.

Fortunately, more productive outlooks on community life are gaining wider acceptance. One is the point of view that causes people to look at communities in terms of the over-all pattern of forces that helps establish a community's goals and works for or against the achievement of these objectives.

A person who looks at different communities in this light does not have to become a helpless bystander as he watches one community grow, another degenerate with apathy, and still another disintegrate as a result of internal conflict. These conditions are merely symptoms of a community's state of health and indications of its leadership needs.

With a knowledge of *what* is happening to a community and *why* these changes are taking place, farsighted citizens are in a position to exert more control over two things: the *direction* in which their community is moving, and the *relative speed* with which it moves toward the achievement of its objectives. A meaningful self-improvement program must start with the conviction that any community can be better tomorrow than it was yesterday. The next

step is to take stock of current needs and problems as a basis for launching a well-planned action program, preferably a program that takes full advantage of the unique pattern of forces which gives the community its distinguishing features.

When James Lewis became superintendent of schools in Morgan County he inherited a big job—over 100 schools serving almost an equal number of communities. He was a professionally trained administrator with twenty-odd years experience in lesser administrative positions, but the county unit, with over a thousand square miles of territory, presented many perplexing problems.

Foremost among these problems was the matter of school consolidation. It was a problem to Superintendent Lewis because he was not as sure as some of his fellow administrators that big schools were necessarily good schools.

He looked at the many different communities his schools served and he wondered what a school really meant to a community. He talked with farmers, businessmen, and housewives, and he was alternately pleased and disturbed to find such enduring allegiances to the small one- and two-room schools. "If we didn't have the little school and the little church, we just wouldn't have a community," was an observation that Superintendent Lewis encountered over and over again. Was it possible, he pondered, that many communities had actually been destroyed because school people did not know enough about the communities? Did the schools, perhaps, have a responsibility for total community betterment that few teachers envisioned?

This line of reasoning caused Mr. Lewis to feel that he needed more information about his communities in order to make sound administrative decisions. He first of all considered hiring a team of experts to conduct an educational survey but later discarded this idea. Why, he reasoned, shouldn't his own staff undertake a study of the communities that they had served for years? Were they not, after all, the people who knew these communities best? And were they not the ones who would have to stand behind whatever decisions were reached as a result of a study?

After the idea of a study had been thoroughly explored with his

administrative staff, Mr. Lewis felt that it was time to start. To get the ball rolling, he, his assistant superintendents, and his instructional supervisors set aside a full day for an exploratory study of one small community.

A "MODEL" SCHOOL REFLECTS A PATTERN OF FORCES

When the staff selected the first community to be studied, it was only natural that they would pick Edgewood. It was the system's model school. Several years ago the Board of Education had decided to spend a little extra money on one of the small schools and set it up as a model for all of the small schools in the county. The Edgewood school is a showplace now—a spot where visitors can be shown around.

As Mr. Lewis and his staff drove from the county seat to Edgewood, the seven-mile drive seemed even shorter than usual. They always enjoyed their visits to this community, and today was a special occasion. Everyone was anxious for the study to establish Edgewood as a model community as well as a model school.

As the group rounded the last curve and pulled up beside the newly painted building, they could not help being proud of the school. The spacious playground was well kept, and the neatly trimmed hedges and bushes provided a homelike atmosphere. The white picket fence was gleaming in the sun, and the playground equipment sparkled like new. Edgewood truly represented what the staff aspired to for all of the schools. The group entered the building and was greeted by the teacher.

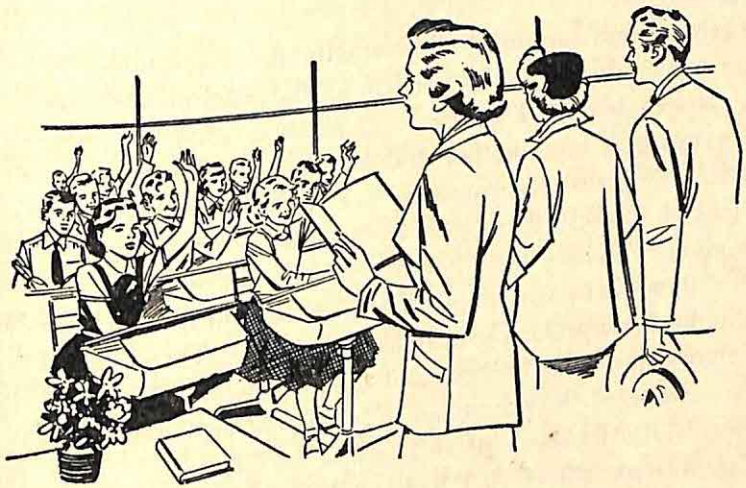
Mrs. Tate, an attractive brunette in her middle thirties, had taught in Edgewood for ten years. Her work had always been excellent, and it appeared that she was an ideal person for the Edgewood school. The red and yellow flowered draperies and the collection of potted plants were evidence of her handiwork. They seemed to go very well, somehow, with the polished hardwood floors, the indirect lighting, and all the other improvements.

Mrs. Tate did not know why most of the central office staff had descended on her in full force, but she was cooperative as usual and willing to help in any way she could. They told her that they

simply wanted to find out all about Edgewood as well as the other communities in the county. They explained further that they needed her help and the assistance of the boys and girls. In fact, she was asked if she knew several nearby parents who would like to work with the group for a few hours also. She did, and a child was asked to extend the invitations.

After a short while, everyone was present and most curious to know what was going to happen. After only a few introductory remarks, the staff turned to the children. They were told that most of the people present did not even know where Edgewood ended and some other community began. They laughed because they felt sure that everyone knew that.

They were soon convinced otherwise, however, and a proposal was made that the group take an imaginary trip through the community, which was by this time sketched roughly on the chalkboard.



The game was simple. The pupils were to imagine that they were driving down each of the several roads running through Edgewood, and they were to raise their hands when they passed the last house in the community.

The imaginary journey started west on a main road and ran

toward the Spaulding River, a natural barrier that no road crosses at this point. It was assumed, of course, that the river would be the logical boundary of the community, but this was apparently not so. Every hand in the room shot up within four houses of the end of the road, and the children announced that they were no longer in Edgewood.

Everyone was puzzled, but the teacher and parents who were present nodded their heads in agreement, so the boundary line was drawn. This was when some of the staff members first began to realize that community boundaries, after all, exist only in the minds of people.

Next, the imaginary journey continued by heading north from the school on another main road. A cluster of 15 or 20 houses lay in this direction, and it was felt that they would naturally fall into the Edgewood community. However, the staff members were mistaken again. This time every hand was raised when the first house was passed.

Everyone was curious to know why the community boundary would end so abruptly. "Where then," the children were asked, "do these people live?" This was apparently a difficult question, for they glanced at one another and finally looked to the teacher for help. Feeling that the question was perhaps not understood, Mr. Lewis said, "Surely these people live somewhere—they must have a community—where would they tell you they live?"

This time there was a response. A seventh-grade boy started waving his hand and exclaimed, "I know now. They would tell you that they live out beyond the state road garage." "Yes, he's right," remarked one of the parents. "They would say that they live out beyond Nettie Jackson's place."

This was something that had not been expected at all. Was it possible that Edgewood was surrounded by people who had no community? Were they, in fact, community isolates—people who actually lived in no community but simply existed out beyond some other place?

To complete the picture of the community the entire group continued the game by driving their imaginary car east and then south.

The story was essentially the same. Never once did the children hesitate or disagree when it came time to indicate the last house in Edgewood. The staff now knew precisely where Edgewood was located in the minds of many of its residents. But this was not enough. The superintendent and his associates needed to know many other things in order to really understand what made this community tick.

Feeling that it was important to know about the opportunities that the citizens of Edgewood had for participation in civic affairs, the staff turned its attention to community organizations. The men had seen that there was a small white church located just opposite the school. It and the school, they had been told, were the center of the community. Was it really more than just a building? Did it actually serve the community? If so, how? And what about the school? Was it just a place for children, or did it mean something else to the community? Were there other organizations? When did people get together, why and how? These were the kinds of questions that were raised and that the children and adults who were present attempted to answer.

Needless to say, it was quite a surprise to discover that the church was the only adult organization in the community. Furthermore, the activities of the church were confined to the regularly scheduled services. No one present could think of an example of the church's sponsoring other kinds of activities. However, someone observed that some of the people living on the fringes of Edgewood community—the people without a community of their own—attended this church. Apparently, therefore, the church was serving a larger community than most residents realized, even though it was obviously not so active as some other rural churches. Even with its limitations it seemed to be one thing that helped make Edgewood a community. It appeared to be a force that was tending, in a small measure, to extend the boundaries of the Edgewood community and to unite people for common purposes.

Realizing that Edgewood was only a few miles from the county seat, the superintendent wondered if the lack of organizations in the community was compensated for by groups in the neighboring

While the meeting was adjourned for lunch, Superintendent Lewis gave his own interpretation of the recent developments in the group interview to his associates. "When I heard the comment that the community had no real problems," he said with much concern, "I started wondering what it meant for people to be unable to identify any tangible means by which their community could be improved. Was it possible that the inability of a community to outline needed improvements reflected vague or undefined aspirations? Isn't a problem, in its most simple form, what you get by subtracting what people have been able to accomplish from the things they would like to accomplish? Can't we say also that these aspirations that motivate action in communities are related to what people value most? These were some of the questions that kept recurring in my thinking. When we resume I would like to ask a direct question concerning the community value pattern."

When Mr. Lewis asked the question, "What gives a person his status in Edgewood?," he did not know what to expect. Would their response be "money," "a big farm," "leading a Christian life," "friendliness," "service to the community," "working together," "occupational status," "length of family residence," or something else?

He started the ball rolling by listing ten or more possible values on the chalkboard and asking the adult members of the group to rate them in one, two, three order. After considerable thought and discussion, they seemed to agree that the community valued "leading a Christian life" most highly. In this connection they cited the fact that most people attended the Sunday morning services at the community church. Beyond church attendance, however, they were unable to identify very clearly just what it meant to lead a Christian life.

The value that fell into second place was "friendliness," and the ladies referred again to the "live and let live" philosophy, which necessitated a certain kind of friendliness. However, after they had rated these two items, they were unable to identify additional values.

The information they had provided was helpful, but a few more questions were in order. "What value," they were asked, "do the

residents of this community place upon the matter of serving the community, and do they value working together?" The ladies looked at one another, thought for a few minutes, and finally responded with identical answers. They had all placed a question mark after community service and cooperative effort. Hence, it seemed that these points were of little value to the residents of Edgewood. Apparently they were insignificant enough to defy a rating. Moreover, there seemed to be no conscious relationship existing between these two values and the ones ranked in first and second place, namely "leading a Christian life" and "friendliness." Actually the staff was not too surprised; the story was consistent.

However, on the matter of values one further question remained. Did a man really derive his status from within the community, or was the local value pattern oriented to the accepted way of life in the neighboring community of Centerville? To get an answer to this question, Superintendent Lewis described a mythical character who was to become a new resident of Edgewood. He was to do one of two things—either become a successful farmer in his community or hold a position as a filling station attendant in the neighboring community. "Which position," they were asked, "would give this newcomer the most prestige and status in Edgewood?" Surprisingly enough, they all agreed that a man who was employed in the county seat would probably be thought of as more influential than a man who lived and worked in the community.

With the pieces of the puzzle fitting together to make a complete picture of community life in Edgewood, the discussion was once again channeled toward a consideration of the role of the school in the community. "You have heard of school consolidation," Mr. Lewis said. "How would you feel if it became necessary for us to close the Edgewood school and transport your children to the larger school in Centerville?" After thinking for a few minutes, one mother replied, "That would be all right. No one would object if you closed the school. I don't think they would complain too much." At this response the staff members exchanged disturbed glances. Wasn't this the "model" school? This was the school of which they had been so proud, and yet the parents were quite will-

ing to see it closed. "But," said Superintendent Lewis, "wouldn't the people in the community like to come together at the school sometime to talk about their community and try to figure out some ways of making it a better place in which to live?" "I'm afraid not," replied the teacher. "Only a few would come out and you would probably have to have a special program to get even a handful."

The discussion was now over. The staff had developed some new insights into community life in Edgewood, but they were perplexed by some of their findings. As they drove back to the office they were wondering the same thing. What really makes a model school? What makes a good community? What part should the school play in helping communities such as Edgewood? The staff members are still looking for satisfactory answers to these questions.

Superintendent Lewis's experience with his staff in Edgewood had apparently caused him to look upon his model school in a different light. Previously, when he had thought of Edgewood he had visualized an attractive building, the latest in school equipment, and a cooperative teacher. This was about all. He knew that the Edgewood school served a community. He also knew that this community was not exactly like many other communities in the county, but he had never been too concerned about what made it that way.

His thoughts had centered on children, teachers, and the necessary facilities for conducting a sound program of education. He still thinks that these things are important, but they now have a new meaning to him. When he thinks of children, he no longer tries to understand them out of relationship to their community. He knows that they represent homes—different types of homes—all of which add up to make the community of Edgewood.

He realizes that many forces are at work in the education of a child and that Edgewood has its unique pattern of forces. As he thinks back over his visit, it occurs to him that the forces which are tending to make Edgewood a growing community center are weak in many respects. In fact, there is now some doubt in his

mind about whether Edgewood is a weak community or just a strong neighborhood of the county seat.

He wonders how much of a community boys and girls really have when their parents have no organized means of working together. He speculates further about what kind of education for effective democratic citizenship young people get when they grow up with the "live and let live" philosophy that prevails in Edgewood.

Moreover, he is inclined to be somewhat concerned about a community value pattern that places so little emphasis on teamwork and service to one's community. He has always said that schools have a responsibility for developing moral and spiritual values, but when he thinks of these curriculum objectives now his thoughts also turn to the community.

Does a model school really exist at Edgewood? Is the teacher accepting any responsibility for adult education? Has the community really been helped by the efforts of the board of education to give them the most up-to-date equipment and facilities? These are some of the questions that are bothering Superintendent Lewis and his staff because they are beginning to suspect that one can do too much for a community—that local initiative can be stifled when people have no part in deciding what their future shall be. Mr. Lewis does not really regret his efforts to provide good schools for Edgewood. However, he is beginning to wonder about a new kind of service that school administration might provide in communities such as this.

As he looks at the forces pulling Edgewood apart and the forces tending to make it grow, he cannot help thinking of the community's future. As he does so, he anticipates a number of important decisions that will have to be made in the years to come. Does Edgewood have a future as a strong community in its own right, or can it look forward to becoming a full-fledged neighborhood of Centerville?

Edgewood could conceivably take either course of action in its present stage of development; whatever decision is reached will affect many people. Of course, Edgewood has a stake in its own

future, but so does Centerville, as well as the other surrounding communities. The decision will surely affect the "community isolates" who live in the shadow of Edgewood. Who should make a decision as important as this one would seem to be? How should it be made?

Of course, the community is not standing still. It is not the same this year as it was the year before, and next year should produce even more changes. It is within the power of the people who really have a stake in the community's future to set these directions deliberately and purposefully, although they may never do so. This would seem to necessitate the provision of additional opportunities for cooperative planning and group action. Such a proposal would raise a number of serious questions. What would it mean for the role of some future civic club? What would it suggest for the role of the church? And what part should the schools attempt to play?

Many forces are at work in Edgewood: the convictions of the people, a stable economy, the nucleus of two institutions (the church and the school), and still others. Some of these forces are positive and some are negative, but the greatest force of all remains untapped. This is the power that is released only when the collective intelligence of the community is focused on the clarification of community aspirations and the development of realistic programs of action for achieving these goals. The releasing of this unseen potential for community betterment would seem to be the task of all groups that have a genuine interest in the Edgewood of tomorrow.

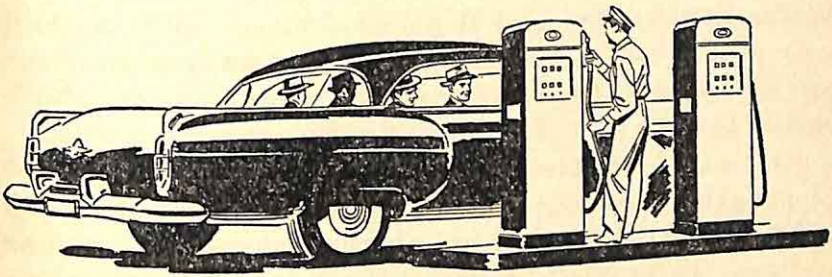
PATTERNS OF FORCES WORK FOR SOME COMMUNITIES

Following their visit to the Edgewood community, Superintendent Lewis and his staff could hardly wait to conduct a similar study in another school community. Somewhat arbitrarily they decided that the second community should be small, like Edgewood—rural, agricultural, composed of people whose income and educational levels were average for the county, and situated on the edge of another incorporated town. These factors, they reasoned, would give

the two communities at least an outward appearance of similarity and provide a basis for making certain comparisons.

With these things in mind they thought of the Lincoln community, located six miles from the neighboring town of Pineville. The populations of Edgewood and Lincoln and of Centerville and Pineville were comparable. It was possible that Pineville would serve Lincoln in much the same way that Centerville had served as the shopping center for Edgewood.

En route to Lincoln the superintendent and his staff stopped at a filling station in Pineville. A couple of members of the group engaged the station operator in a conversation about Lincoln.



"You folks headin' to Lincoln?," he asked. Anticipating the answer to his question, he added, "I don't know why folks always talk about Lincoln. I don't see why they're interested in such a place. It's just a one-horse town to us around here and that's all it'll ever be." This and several remarks whetted the curiosity of the group. What was Lincoln really like? Was it another Edgewood? Already there were some indications that it might be different.

As the group continued the drive, they exchanged any information about the community that seemed pertinent to the purpose of their visit. They reviewed the fact that Lincoln is what the old-timers used to call "Brushy Ridge." The community was first known by this name because of the excessive underbrush. The soil was too shale-ridden to produce tall timber of any value. The people who lived in Lincoln had decided a few years ago that Brushy Ridge was not a dignified enough name for a progressive community. Conse-

quently, they searched for a more appropriate name, and in this manner Brushy Ridge became Lincoln.

By that time they had arrived at the Lincoln school and everyone was anticipating a most enjoyable visit with the boys and girls, the teacher, and a few interested patrons. They were not to be disappointed.

When Mrs. Burns, the middle-aged teacher at the Lincoln school, greeted the party she informed them that the boys and girls had been eagerly awaiting the visit. Moreover, the staff was pleased to note that a number of parents were already assembled in anticipation of helping them become better acquainted with the Lincoln community.

With the stage already set for a productive day's work, and with the recent experience in the Edgewood community serving as a guide, the visitors launched immediately into a discussion with the boys and girls. As in Edgewood, the discussion was started by drawing a crude map on the chalkboard. It was obvious that the pupils at Lincoln were just as fascinated as the Edgewood children with the imaginary trip through their community. They, too, were able to reach agreement without difficulty when the community boundary lines were drawn. There was no doubt in their minds about which families belonged to Lincoln and which families were excluded.

However, one strange thing was noticeable. The group had assumed that the Negroes living in that vicinity would be identified with another community and that Lincoln would encompass the entire white population. As it turned out, this assumption could not have been more in error.

To help the group understand the situation, the boys and girls identified each home occupied by a white family by placing a small square on the map and each Negro household with a circle. When this was done one could see quite clearly that community boundaries were not drawn along racial lines—both symbols were interspersed throughout the community. Moreover, it was noted that some Negro families and some white families were not identified with the Lincoln community.

Seeking an explanation of this unusual situation, the staff turned to an elderly woman who had been sitting quietly in the back of the room. "Is this really true?," she was asked. "Are the boys and girls right in suggesting that a person's race makes no difference in this community?" "Well, I don't know if I can tell you," she replied, "but I think I can give you an example. Mrs. Smith is a Negro who lives near me. She always has a fine garden. If she has some extra tomatoes and I don't have any, she always gives me a few."

With this description of what appeared to be, at least on the surface, a minimum of racial conflict, it was now appropriate to ask whether there were any organized means for participation in civic affairs in Lincoln. It was obvious that, in addition to the school, Lincoln was served by two churches of different denominations. Both were located within a stone's throw of the school, and the three institutions comprised the center of the community. However, this was about all the staff knew. How was this small community able to support two churches? Did their very existence suggest that there might be a certain amount of religious difference and perhaps conflict?

These and other questions were in the minds of the central office staff when they asked the parents to describe the relationships between these churches and to tell about any other groups that existed in the community. They wanted to know the extent to which this community pulled together for common purposes. Moreover, they wanted to know what citizenship in a democracy really meant to these people, and what arrangements they had made for giving the residents of their community a chance to take an active part in community life.

In an effort to help the staff understand these things, one of the school patrons offered an explanation. "You know, we didn't always have two churches right in the community. We are all either Methodists or Presbyterians in Lincoln, and for a long time we just came together in the same church as one group. That is, all but a few of us. There was a little Presbyterian church over the hill in another community and some of us went over there. I don't

know just how it happened, but somebody heard that we could buy that church and move it over to Lincoln if we wanted to. Well, those of us who had been going over there didn't know what to do. Of course, we wanted the church but we didn't have enough money to buy it and besides we didn't have enough men to take it apart and move it over here. We were about to give up the idea when a lot of other folks in the community started talking about our problem. Before we could turn around a bunch of the men had gotten together and decided to help. Before it was over the whole community had a part in tearing the church down and moving it over here. Ever since that time the two churches have seemed to belong to all of us. If there's a weekday program at the Presbyterian church, you can count on a few Methodists being there to help out, and vice versa. I guess there's another thing I could tell you about the way our churches get along. The choir director of the Presbyterian church volunteered to direct the Youth Choir of the Methodist Church."

"You have told us about some of the people who live in Lincoln," Mr. Lewis summarized, "and you've related a most interesting story about your two churches. But there are still a few things we would like to know. Tell us more about the way people work together. Do you have any other groups or do you just work through your churches?"

"I'll try to tell you about that," volunteered another parent. "We've got several community groups, and most everybody's in one or several of them. We do a lot of things, and we can always count on using one of the churches or the school if we want to have a meeting. I don't know how other communities do it, but we get together once a year and take stock of ourselves. If you'll come around next October, you might like to see our Community Fair. That's when we can show you samples of everything we've made during the year. All the women like to display their canned goods and household things. The men are interested, too, because this is the time that we figure up how much each family has produced on its farm. Why, we could even tell you how many potatoes were grown in Lincoln last year, and how many jars of tomatoes and

beans the women put up for the winter. This is how we keep a check on the progress we make. Sometimes we fall short of our goals, and when this happens we try to overcome these weaknesses in some way. You see, if one family has a bad year we pitch in and give them what they need. We don't ask anything in return because we might be the ones needing help next year."

How different this was from Edgewood, thought Mr. Lewis. Here was an entire community evaluating its progress at regular intervals and planning ways and means of making new gains each year. Of course, it was remarkable enough to find a community planning for its economic well-being, but were they concerned as well with the social life of Lincoln?

At this point, the teacher, Mrs. Burns, was anxious to comment. "Every week we have a covered-dish supper and the people really turn out. We take turns having it at the school or at one of the churches. We feel that it's a good idea to keep our young people from hanging around the street corners and pool rooms in Pineville on the weekends, so we have a planned recreation program for them right here in the community. It has worked pretty well, and we feel that a lot of problems have been headed off in this way. Most of our boys and girls like Lincoln so much that only a very few move away when they finish school. Of course, some do leave to look for jobs in the city from time to time, but very often they come back to Lincoln. We know that this is likely to happen, so we try to have something for them to come back to. I tell you all these things so you'll understand why we feel that it pays off in a better community when we all work together."

When the group interview reached this point, the staff was reasonably sure that some of the major tenets in Lincoln's value pattern had been revealed. However, they felt that it would be wise to ask a specific question concerning the beliefs and actions that gave a person status in this community. The same procedure that had been tried in the Edgewood community was used. A list of possible values—such as wealth, family background, and occupational status—was presented to the adult members of the group. They had surprisingly little difficulty in identifying the values that were

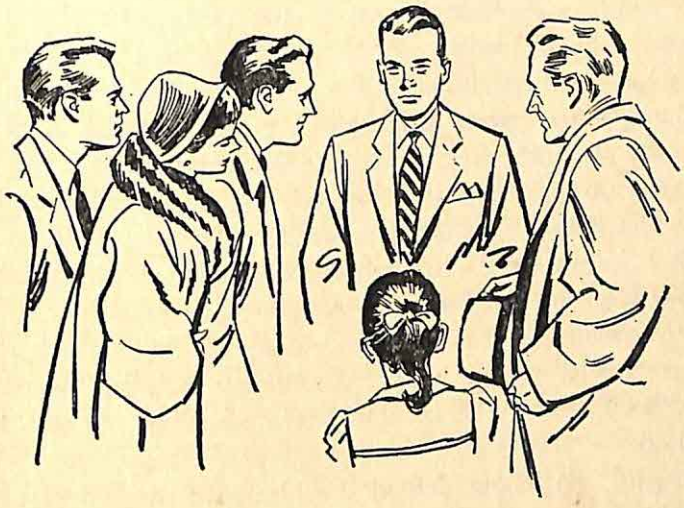
rated highest in Lincoln. "Leading a Christian life" took the number one spot and was closely followed by "service to the community" and "cooperative effort." It was explained further by the informants that the latter two points reflected their conception of leading a Christian life.

The superintendent and his staff immediately recalled that the Edgewood community had also placed "leading a Christian life" at the top of the list, but that their interpretation of this value had been quite different. Neither "service to community" nor "cooperation" had even been included in Edgewood's list of values. Instead, Christianity had been judged to be more closely related to the attribute of "friendliness" and the philosophy of "live and let live." The contrast was drawn sharply enough to warrant the serious consideration of school people in building a curriculum to strengthen moral and spiritual values. Moreover, the group was impressed by the apparent consistency of these stated values with everything else the informants had told them about the two communities.

The people in the Edgewood community had contended that they faced no problems which would merit group action. What would the residents of Lincoln say? Here was a community with a striking absence of conflict and a long history of group effort. Would they, too, have no problems, or would the story be quite different? The visiting staff was anxious to see. The lady who responded to this question almost seemed offended at the suggestion that Lincoln had no problems. "Oh, we've got lots of problems," she exclaimed. "We know we can always be better as a community if we work hard enough, and we don't have any trouble finding problems to work on. It seems that there are always more things to do than we ever get done. If you're really interested and want to help on some of them, we could always use an extra hand!"

It suddenly became obvious to Superintendent Lewis that people who have learned to work together and share responsibility for their community's welfare tend to have greater insight into the problems they face. The residents of Lincoln were obviously better able to identify their problems than the residents of Edgewood. Was it because they were more intelligent or better educated? No, this

seemed improbable. The real difference was not in such things as these, but was in some way a reflection of the kind of teamwork that so vividly characterized Lincoln.



"What would you say," asked Mr. Lewis, "if we could no longer justify maintaining a school in this community? Would it make any real difference if you lost your school?" "Oh, no," exclaimed one parent, "don't close our school!" And then another lady added, "No, we want the school to get bigger and bigger. We just wouldn't know what to do without it. You know that we have a vacant room this year because the packing house moved out of town, but have you noticed what we've done with it? That's where we have our youth center. Without that room I don't know how we could have our recreation program for young people. And if we didn't have the school at all, where would we hold our community meetings?" "But," added another parent, "we try to understand when things don't go our way, and if the school ever does have to be moved we would have just one request. Just put our children on the bus and take them the extra ten miles into Centerville. We know that Pine-ville is only six miles away and we have to buy some things there, but it's not a place where we want our children sent. Lincoln's their

home and we want them to know it. We're not a part of Pineville and never could be. Now, I don't want you to think I would be happy about losing our school. I wouldn't. If that decision ever has to be made, I hope you'll give us a chance to try to work something out here. The school is one of the most important things in our community, and we would do almost anything to keep it."

The superintendent and his staff now had a picture of the part that two county schools were playing in their respective communities. Needless to say, they were now wondering whether the model school was Edgewood, as they had formerly thought, or Lincoln. Mr. Lewis interpreted his experience in these words: "We are now looking at our schools in a different light. We are recognizing for the first time that the forces at work in a community—the things people value and believe, the opportunities that have been provided for participation in civic affairs, the manner in which people have learned to work together—really determine what schools can and should do.

"We could no longer defend the idea that the school program should be the same in all of our communities. The school, we have begun to realize, has a unique service to render in each community. Moreover, we've decided that this service can never be provided until we have more information about community life in every community served by one of our schools.

"When we think back on Edgewood, we see a balance of forces tending to take one more community out of existence. From an economic standpoint it could have been one of the strongest communities in the county, but it lacks that intangible "we-feeling" or attitude of belongingness without which no community can progress.

"On the other hand, a hasty look at the Lincoln community would lead one to believe that it should have disappeared as a community many years ago. Economically, one might say, the community is treading on thin ice. The rugged hills, the small garden plots, and the inadequacy of employment opportunities would lead one to believe that only by displaying a superhuman effort could people maintain a community at all. And perhaps this is true. However, the know-how that results from citizens' working together should

never be discounted in sizing up a community. The spark of community consciousness, the clarity of the community value patterns, the ability of people to recognize and tackle outstanding community problems—these and other factors really give Lincoln its personality. These are the forces that have the power to offset economic handicaps. They are the things that really determine a community's future.

"We have learned a great deal from studying two communities. Edgewood and Lincoln, of course, may not be typical of the remaining communities in the county. All we know is that they are different and that these differences must be taken into consideration in planning an improved school program. A big job lies ahead, but we can hardly wait to get really acquainted with our other school communities."

PATTERNS OF FORCES HAVE MEANING FOR YOUR COMMUNITY

Superintendent Lewis's experimental approach to the administration of a county school system is something new on the educational horizon. The idea that a school administrator has a direct responsibility for providing leadership in total community development is a departure from the commonly accepted patterns of administrative behavior. But what is the meaning of this new outlook on leadership for other communities?

The two communities that Superintendent Lewis and his staff visited possessed distinctive characteristics—one was apparently moving downhill; the other was growing in importance as a community center year by year. The unique patterns of forces that gave these two communities their most noticeable characteristics will be duplicated in no other community. There will be close parallels, of course, but each community must be analyzed in terms of its own arrangement of forces and influences. In each community, beliefs, traditions, concepts of role, socio-economic conditions and trends, both formal and informal groupings, and the entire leadership structure provide a complex but distinct pattern of forces that can be identified and understood.

The outward appearance of one's community may offer the im-

pression that it is active or apathetic, in harmony or conflict, in opposition to change of any sort or adaptable and geared to social progress. On the other hand, the community may show a combination of such traits. One must not despair, however, if one's community appears unduly complex or hopelessly entangled in its own web of problems. Many of the principles that hold true for small communities can be applied with a reasonable degree of assurance in larger and more complex settings.

Communities everywhere possess a degree of stability that reflects the values, beliefs, customs, and mores of the people who are a part of these human associations. The outward characteristics of a community may vary suddenly, but the basic foundations of human relationships change much more slowly. Hence, even in a period of crisis or rapid social change, the keen observer can detect the forces and influences that really make a difference in community life. No community should be thought of as being static, of course—every community is in a constant process of change. It is moving in one direction or another, whether its goals are set purposefully or emerge by mere chance. Consequently, one never has to face the issue of change versus no change—the question is one of how much change and in what direction.

What communities are able to accomplish and how rapidly these gains can be realized are determined by the *total pattern* of forces within which the community leader must operate. Communities may appear to develop in spurts or in a piecemeal fashion, but any basic alteration in a given social force almost invariably has an effect on the over-all matrix of pressures and influences that are operative in the community. If the civic leader proceeds on the assumption that the forces at work in his community are interrelated and interdependent, he is acutely sensitive to the impact that his leadership is having upon *total* community development. Moreover, he recognizes that this network of forces not only sets the limits of change but constitutes a latent power for increasing the tempo of social progress.

It appears that the community leader, if he is to function effectively on today's scene, should have a vast store of information at

his disposal. The kind of leadership that relies solely upon fleeting inspirations, hunches, or intuition is no longer adequate if the direction and tempo of social change is to be controlled by local communities.

Such a leader must be able to assess his community's potential for improvement. He will need tools and understandings that will enable him to analyze significant socio-economic trends and conditions. He will need the know-how necessary to determine and the ability to understand the values, beliefs, and concepts that underlie and give meaning to community life. Moreover, he will need to develop techniques for analyzing and understanding the existing pattern of leadership in his community, and the opportunities this leadership affords people for participation in self-improvement programs.

Finally, and as a basis for all of his observations and actions, he must demonstrate faith in the ability of all the people who make up his community to help build a better life for each and every citizen. As community leaders consciously seek to become more effective in developing their own capacity for leadership, as well as the abilities of others, one can look forward to the emergence of stronger and more dynamic communities. A careful look at the manner in which communities resolve issues and arrive at decisions also reveals much about community forces at work and the leadership that gives them direction.

INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION FOR WOMEN
Dept. of Extension SERVICE.
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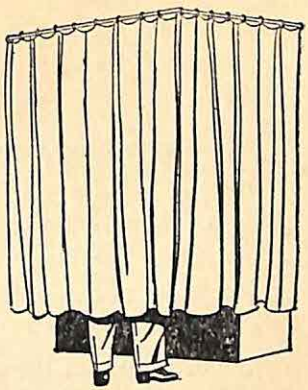
SECTION FOUR

COMMUNITY DECISION-MAKING

COMMUNITIES *have to make up their minds about things. Important decisions on various proposals and policies can point the way upward or downward for a community. How does one's community make decisions? What can each citizen do to help decide his own future and the future of other members of the community?*

Although many people dismiss participation in community affairs by saying, "Why vote on that—it doesn't concern me," or "No, I don't play politics," there is another way to look at this vital process. It may be politics—but it is something more. Everyone has a stake in decision-making in his community, and everyone can play an important part in it.



CHAPTER NINE

COMMUNITIES MUST MAKE DECISIONS

SHOULD Fair Bluff undertake to provide its citizens with more public utilities? Should Crawford County replace its local justice system with a general sessions court? Should Glendale grant industries an inducement to come into the community by offering them a five-year tax exemption? These and countless other decisions must be faced by the citizens of communities, counties, and municipalities everywhere. Quite often these decisions are made in such tranquillity that the editor of a local paper refuses to announce the outcomes on his cherished front page. Now and then, however, decisions regarding public policies produce violent contests. Then, not only the outcome of the conflict, but also the events leading to the point of decision are read eagerly in heavily inked headlines. Although decision-making may be almost unnoticed or may shake a community to its foundations, it is subject to certain recognizable limitations. In making community decisions—as in playing hopscotch or chess—very real boundaries and a framework of rules exist.

THERE ARE MANY REAL LIMITATIONS ON DECISION-MAKING

To think that a community can make a decision about just anything or that a community is free to make any choice it pleases is not to recognize the many limitations on decision-making that exist in a

community setting. These limitations on decision-making take many forms.

In one community, a man might sink his plow into the earth and watch the rich loam pile high in neat furrows behind him. Another man tilling other soil might feel the jolt of his plow blade striking a stone or hear the sharp scrape of shale sliding across the cutting blade. Each of these men is keenly aware of the potential of the soil he tills. One tills rich soil that produces a high yield per acre with comparatively little work; the other must work hard and long for a small yield. These two men, therefore, have different potential for income, different natural resources at their disposal. Natural resources are one basis of wealth. The difference in soils is often reflected in the homes people possess, the conveniences they have, their whole standard of living, even their outlook on life. Thus, natural resources of all kinds may impose very realistic boundaries within which decisions can be made.

People in Maine never have to decide whether or not they shall plant sugar cane. The folks in Arizona never have to decide whether to build dikes and levees. A merchant in Florida never has to decide how many snowplows to stock. It is clear to see that particular natural resources, climates, or geographical locations make some decisions out of bounds for the people who live under these conditions.

Likewise, economic conditions provide a framework within which decisions must be made. No grocer orders all the bread he can buy to place on his shelves. He must decide how much to order so that he can stay within the boundaries of his credit, within the demands of the market, and within his facilities for handling the bread.

Decisions of communities everywhere must be made within the limitations of their natural and economic resources. Moreover, there are still other boundaries—those of a statutory nature. Few communities can issue an unlimited amount of bonds. Few communities, municipalities, or counties have the legal right to lower or to raise the tax rate as they see fit. Specific minimum and maximum rates are fixed by law.

A superintendent of schools appears before his school board to report the outcome of an interview with the chairman of the board of county commissioners, the county attorney, and the county auditor. He states an unanticipated turn in events: "The county judge was favorable to our proposal to issue more bonds for the construction of the proposed additions to three of the existing school buildings. However, the auditor said that the county had reached the legal limit of its bonded indebtedness." In this instance, legal restrictions prevent the school board from presenting to the people a bond issue for their decision. Thus, the legal framework of society provides very realistic boundaries within which our choices are made.

Some boundaries within which decisions are made are not so discernible, as the following two landowners discover.

"Sam, how are you going to settle for your land that'll be covered by the backwater from that new dam—fee simple or easement?"

"Well, John, I'm not sure. I sometimes think I'll sell outright. Then I hear talk about easement and change my mind."

These two residents are faced with a decision to be made. The decision concerns them vitally, since it involves the sale of property. Yet John and Sam are experiencing considerable difficulty making the decision, because the choice calls for information they do not possess. It is conceivable that their personal values may impose certain restrictions on their ability to arrive at a decision also.

Many communities have to face decisions in a similar manner. The chairman of a city council calls a meeting of this administrative body to order and after the customary preliminaries moves to the first item of business:

"Gentlemen, I have before me a petition signed by 278 residents. These residents represent over 50 per cent of the home owners in the Inglewood District. It is a formal request for more adequate sewage disposal. The petition is accompanied by a letter from Dr. Sanders, the local health officer, in support of their request. As you know, we have intended consideration of this matter for several weeks, but we have been unable to get the necessary technical advice that would enable us to estimate costs and to plan for the

financing of such a project. Our delay on this decision may seem inexcusable; yet we could not readily decide upon a course of action without proper information and understanding.

"Will the secretary please read the petition and the letter from Dr. Sanders at this time."

Although this city council faced a critical health and sanitation problem, its power to act was blocked completely by a lack of information essential to the resolution of the problem. In this case, the information needed to remove this barrier was recognized and could be obtained from a technically trained person. In many instances, neither of these conditions may be true. The need for understanding may not be recognized, and a pressing problem may continue to baffle a community's efforts to arrive at a decision. In other instances, the need for more information might be acknowledged, but the information might not be so readily available as it was in the community that sought the technical advice of a sanitary engineer.

Decision-making on the part of individuals and communities is subject to a range of limitations. This is true because decisions have to do with something—objects, people, or ideas. Recognizing the limitations that bear upon any decision is the first step toward making a sound decision.

DECISIONS COME IN MANY SHAPES AND SIZES

John Warren had become 65 years of age. He had lived an active life—school teacher, restaurant owner, county sheriff, and finally state commissioner of roads for the past 13 years. He had made money, and he enjoyed living in Brookdale. Brookdale was a small town of 5,400 people. John liked it because he had there a comfortable home and friends of long standing. The town was 30 miles from a large city, where shopping was good. Besides, his two daughters had homes there, and he liked to watch the grandchildren grow.

Although he could not continue as a state employee, John looked on retirement with distaste. He decided to invest some money in a business. Then, for the first time, he began to look closely at his

home community. A new business had not been established in Brookdale during the past nine years. After digging through census reports, he discovered that such a large number of people left the community each year that the population had remained virtually static for a long time. John wavered in his decision. "As much as I like Brookdale," he told his wife, "this is not the place to go in business."

John did not leave Brookdale. He invested there. He first built a tourist court and leased it to a young couple. Owing to its location on a major traffic route, the tourist court did a good business from the beginning. Then he bought and renovated a building that had been vacant for years. Soon a five-and-ten-cent novelty store was doing well there.

Although John stopped investing money, he noticed that Brookdale had continued to change. A furniture and household appliance store had gone in business, and a supermarket had been built where a fire had burned out two stores years before.

One evening, John sat in a deck chair with his feet propped on the white porch railing. This railing was the only thing that made his neat home show its age, but he refused to remove it because of its utilitarian value as a foot rest. "Louise," he said to his wife, who was sitting near him, "I've been lucky. Just a few years ago I made two rather large investments, and both of them have clicked. Although Brookdale looked like a dying town, it was ready to take a few steps forward. I was fortunate enough to be taken along with it."

Louise replied, "That's one way to look at it, but I look at it differently. This change had to have a beginning. Perhaps your decision to invest here had something to do with it."

There are many John Warrens in communities today. Some are not so fortunate as the one just mentioned. Many such persons lose or just break even on their investments. Nevertheless, they are like John Warren because they make personal decisions that have a definite effect upon the life and welfare of a community. These decisions create job openings; they make particular commodities available to residents; they manifest a confidence and faith

in the community. Although countless personal decisions affect a community, however, a large variety of decisions remain that the community must face if it is to exist as a social group.

Within clearly defined statutory limitations, a community sets up its own corporate form of government. It may choose to be governed by a city manager and council, by a mayor and board of aldermen, or by some other arrangement. Communities also decide how this structure shall function. The operational procedures of community agencies and institutions are prescribed by consensus of the residents. Ordinances come into being as further guides for community cooperation.

Building upon these decisions, which provide the community a means of functioning as a corporate body, community leaders must make still more fundamental decisions concerning how the community will grow. These decisions offer answers to such questions as: What are the most pressing community-wide needs? How can these needs best be met? What resources can be brought to bear upon them? How well is the community functioning?

The answers to these and similar questions constitute the social policy of the community. Decisions that concern social policy affect the future growth and development of the community more than any other order of decisions.

As a citizen attempts to park in his customary space on the little street behind the bakery, he notices a new parking meter there, limiting parking time to one hour. He reads in the morning paper that the condemned school building on Montford Avenue will be razed, and that a new structure will be erected in its place. A gleaming new fire truck passes him on the street, and its sleek modern lines do not resemble those of the old hook-and-ladder trucks. On every hand in a progressive community, one sees evidence of decision-making that reflects the social policy of a community.

Decisions that affect communities come in all shapes and sizes. Some of these decisions are purely personal ones, others affect a small number of the residents, and some concern everyone. Some are made by officials; others are made by the residents at large.

Some decisions concern the formulation of social policy, and others are made in the execution of social policy.

COMMUNITY DECISION-MAKING IS OFTEN DELEGATED

Decision-making requires an expenditure of time and energy. It's a little like turning the crank of an ice cream freezer—the product is worth the effort, but it's work. The natural tendency for communities is to name a group of officials to perform this function within prescribed limits. Although nearly every citizen wants to have a voice in deciding those matters the outcomes of which will affect him, a citizen may choose to express his preferences in a very indirect manner—namely, in selecting a representative who will make many decisions for him.

In this manner the vastly complicated process of decision-making is delegated to various individuals and groups in the community. A city council or a board of commissioners may be delegated the task of rendering decisions concerning the general welfare of the community. A school board may make decisions regarding the educational policies of the community. Moreover, one official—a commissioner of city streets—may be entirely responsible for making decisions that will provide adequate streets. Thus, many rather important decisions in a community are made by remote control—by choosing a person who will in turn participate in decision-making for others.

The delegation of decision-making in communities is a widespread practice and as such justifies further elaboration. The point can be clearly illustrated.

Mr. Webster conducted an enterprising little store on a small street that connected two thoroughfares. He sold hand-tailored suits to people with means who appreciated his personal attention. One morning as he dusted his small display window, he noticed a city truck from the traffic department erecting signs along the street. He stopped dusting and left his shop to find out what was taking place. The signs read "One Way Only."

The wording on the signs left Mr. Webster with mixed feelings. The more he thought of the traffic on his street flowing in only one

direction, the less he liked the change. Then he began to wonder who made this decision—he, for one, had not been consulted about it. He took down the city telephone directory, turned to the list of city officers, and brought his finger to rest under the telephone number opposite the words "Traffic Manager."

As the operator was getting his connection in the city hall, Mr. Webster was planning his approach. His rights had been violated. He had a say-so in what affected him. Finally he heard a pleasant voice say, "This is Tom Lockhart, the city traffic manager, speaking."

Mr. Webster stated his case in well-chosen words. Mr. Lockhart's reply was simple and direct. "Mr. Webster," he said, "I will assume the full responsibility for deciding that the traffic on Oak Street should flow in only one direction, because decisions about those matters have been delegated to me as a part of my job. However, I had your business and others along Oak Street in mind when I made the decision. Mr. Webster, you will now have almost twice as many cars pass your store as you did previously. Besides, this new arrangement will permit parking stations to be marked off. Not only will your customers be able to get to your store quickly, but they will also be able to park in the immediate vicinity."

Mr. Webster had forgotten momentarily that the delegation of the process of decision-making really meant that other people made decisions for him. It was refreshing for him to discover that he still had personal rights and that they were being respected.

SOME ISSUES CAN PULL A COMMUNITY APART

A baffling complexity of things to be decided faces every community. Decisions must be made about the local tax rate, the issuing of bonds, municipal safety provisions, the selection of local public officers, provisions for health and welfare services, and so on. The community is also drawn into decision-making on the state and federal levels. All of these decisions are necessary inasmuch as they

reflect the rights and needs of the people, the demands of a social group. A community that does not make some of these decisions begins to disintegrate. Such a community finds itself torn apart by forces stronger than it is.

Communities, municipalities, and entire counties make specific provisions for decision-making. One finds these provisions taking various shapes. Public officials—auditors, tax collectors, school superintendents, road commissioners, police officers—are employed to recommend these policies and execute them after they are framed as laws.

Numerous boards of professional and lay people are set up and given the responsibility and the jurisdiction to make decisions within specific areas. Thus, one hears of boards of health, school boards, zoning boards, and recreation commissions. The entire legal structure is devoted to this process of decision-making. Legislative bodies—city councils, boards of commissioners, and other legally responsible groups—assume a large part of the job of arriving at the decisions that hold a community together.

At regular intervals in most communities the people themselves go to bat by stepping up to the polls and casting their ballots. At these times community decision-making involves a broad base of participation. A variety of platforms are espoused by candidates, each of whom hopes to be chosen as the representative of a particular social policy. The citizen listens. He strives to detect the sincerity of the candidates and the full meaning of their intentions as indicated not only in their bold statements but also in the subtle undertones of what they say. He evaluates each position in the light of his convictions, his interests, and his aspirations. Then he votes. Thus, voting in society is a process of decision-making.

In view of these varied means of decision-making, most communities that are faced with making important decisions give evidence of considerable confusion.

Not long ago, Bill Lentz lived for a while in a bustling town of 35,000 people. He saw evidences of expanding business. The people expressed pride in the town's new industries, which were providing jobs, wealth, and new products for the community. He

recalls specifically the bright red and black posters on the telephone poles along the street. The posters had a picture of a hand with its finger pointed at the reader. Above the hand were four words in bold print, "Vote and Vote Yes!" In smaller print along the bottom of the poster were the words "City Hall Bond Election, Friday, May 18."

Bill had not thought much about the pending election. He had presumed that the people would approve the sale of bonds for the construction of a new city hall. The following day, however, he had read a blistering editorial in the newspaper opposing the construction of a city hall. "This," he had said to his business associate, "looks like a real fight. There seems to be some push behind both groups—those for the new city hall and those against it."

Voting on important civic matters is as common to the American way of life as apple pie. In communities everywhere, residents are voting pro or con on local options, bonds for schools, bridges, utilities, and various referendums. These issues often represent a sharp division of opinion concerning public affairs. Furthermore, resolving them calls for more decisions, or a drastic alteration of circumstances in such a way as to remove the issues entirely. All kinds of problems may confront any community in the form of critical issues. Some issues evoke the active participation of a large number of individuals and groups, aligning people who are motivated by widely divergent reasons, assumptions, interests, and aspirations. The consolidation of schools can be such an issue.

A superintendent of schools was speaking to a group of parents and teachers who were assembled in a neat two-room school house.

"I was asked by the board member from this district to appear before the parents and teachers of the Wallace community to explain the possibility that this school might be closed and the children transported to Jonesboro, eight miles west on Highway 70.

"As residents of Wallace, you are aware that this community has not grown during the past few years. In spite of a slightly higher birth rate here, the school enrollment has been decreasing steadily. Entire families have been moving to Jonesboro, where there is more

industry. Some of these people who left us were your friends and neighbors.

"The state contributes to the support of each school on the basis of its average daily attendance. Two years ago this school was reduced from a two-teacher to a one-teacher school, and when school opens this September, the enrollment may drop lower than 20 pupils. The state will withdraw its support if this happens, and the board of education cannot afford to underwrite the total cost of operating the school."

As the superintendent went on to discuss the reasons why the Wallace school might have to be consolidated, his words were weighed by each listener. The next day school consolidation was a live topic of discussion.

As four elderly ladies congregated at the grocery store entrance, one said forcefully, "Now, Bessie, you know all of us went to that school. And Lucy, your father helped build it. We just won't let them take the school away from us. I'll write my nephew in Albemarle. He's a state representative, and I know he will stop all this foolishness."

In another part of the community a wife was talking to her husband as she did the breakfast dishes.

"Bobby has done well at our little school here and he likes it. But you know they have a better building and excellent teachers at Jonesboro. John, let's decide what we want to do. When this thing comes to a head we want to be able to say what we want."

John's reply from behind the morning paper was definite. "Why, it's silly to keep that little old school open here. It should have been closed two years ago. Bobby can ride to Jonesboro with me every morning as I go to work, and he can ride the bus back in the afternoon."

In the county seat 20 miles from Wallace, two men were drinking coffee in a drugstore. They were scanning different sections of the paper. Finally, one said to the other:

"There goes that superintendent again. He's going to close another school. He met with the people in Wallace last night. If

that school is closed, there won't be enough voters in Wallace to fool with in two or three years. How are we going to keep this county lined up for Johnson if the people keep shifting around?"

Another conversation was being held in a cafe directly across the street from the school building in Wallace. The two brothers who owned the cafe were preparing food for the lunch hour.

"Say, Mike, get that beer man on the phone."

"Wha'd'ya talkin' about! You know the state won't let us sell beer this close to that school."

"Get the beer man on the phone, I tell ya. Haven't you heard? That little red schoolhouse is on its way out. And this time it's really goin' 'cause we're gonna get behind and push."

These and many other conversations were held in and around Wallace. People expressed their interests, beliefs, and points of view freely. Furthermore, these opinions were varied and some were in direct opposition to others. What happened in Wallace as this issue developed?

When school opened in September the Wallace school had an enrollment of 21 pupils. Knowing that the school could not maintain an average daily attendance of 20 pupils, the superintendent planned to recommend to the board of education that the school be consolidated with the Jonesboro school. Then the issue flared violently. A rumor was circulated that Mike and Ted, who owned the cafe, had given the superintendent $1,000 to close the school, an action that would permit them to sell beer legally. The older residents of the community formed a delegation and descended upon the superintendent to plead for keeping the school. The parents who wanted the school closed so that their children could go to the Jonesboro school started transporting their children there in cars to pull down the attendance record of the Wallace school. County political leaders paid "courtesy visits" to several of the school board members. Disagreements occurred within families and sharp telephone conversations between friends kept party lines humming.

In the face of this tension, a decision had to be made by a responsible board of education. This board felt the pressure of many

formal and informal groups, of economic necessity, and of tradition. Realizing that many people would not understand, the board made a decision. It closed the Wallace school and made provisions for transporting the pupils to Jonesboro.

The issue that enveloped Wallace is not uncommon. It illustrates many of the characteristics that accompany decision-making in our communities. The people of this community reacted immediately on the basis of their emotions, their beliefs, the information they possessed, and their interests. People throughout the entire community became involved. Some held opposite points of view; others held similar points of view for different reasons. These opinions grew out of deep-seated patterns of values and broad assumptions concerning the school and the community—assumptions and beliefs that were not even recognized by those possessing them. People who shared similar points of view about the future of the school joined in their efforts to make their opinions count.

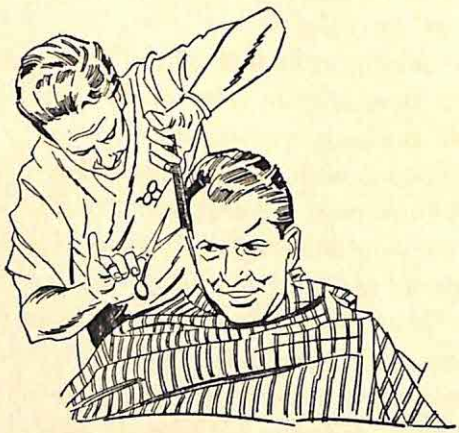
As the issue developed, personalities were injected into the picture. People became more concerned with achieving a decision that agreed with their convictions than with *how* this outcome was arrived at. Thus, critical decisions on civic issues must often be made under duress, amid the stress and emotional fervor such issues stir up. The community, at least for a while, became two communities of interest, each seeking its own ends and working in opposition to the other. Each group exploited its resources (communication channels, finances, status, and common ties) in order to influence or control the outcome of the issue.

Sam Lockley, a cigarette salesman, thought of Bloomington as a friendly, easygoing town of about 3,500 people. Moreover, he was just about right. He saw the usual business enterprises found in a small town: several general stores, three cafes, a bus station, a post office, several filling stations, a branch bank, two drugstores, and other businesses. The homes were not pretentious. They were mostly frame buildings, some of which were old but nonetheless comfortable places in which to live. A modern school was the pride of the community. He noticed that the school building was used widely for many community activities. Two neat churches

of different denominations served the residents of the community. "Yes," said Sam to himself, "if there is such a thing as a typical small town in America, this is it."

In the course of time, the district office of Sam's company was moved to Bloomington, and Sam was moved with it. He found the people just as interesting and friendly as he had expected. They invited him to the school, to their churches, and into their homes. In these places he heard more about Bloomington. He was told of the time four years ago when the community won second place in the state community improvement contest. He heard about the softball team that scheduled teams from four communities, all twice the size of Bloomington, and trimmed them all! Some people pointed to neat hedgerows, to well-lighted streets, to the two athletic fields, to a park set up for the older folks in town. These, they told him, were projects sponsored by their Community Club.

Not long after he had made his first acquaintances in Bloomington, however, Sam encountered a puzzling phenomenon. He would ask some simple questions—at least, they would be simple questions for many progressive communities to answer—and find that



the residents of Bloomington had a hard time answering him. For example, Sam asked his barber, "When does your softball team play again? I'd like to take in a game." The surprising reply was, "Well, we don't have a team this year for some reason."

The next day, Sam said to a business acquaintance, "I've heard of your annual community picnics out at Cedar Falls. When will the one this year be held?" The answer was not in the form of an invitation: "We haven't been able to get together on that now for the past two years."

"What project is the Community Club working on now?," Sam asked his neighbor. "I don't believe I've heard what they are doing," the neighbor replied. "I'm not sure they are sponsoring any particular project."

"Well," said Sam, rather puzzled, "I'd like to visit a club that could carry to completion so many projects. May I attend the next meeting of the Community Club?" "Sure," said his neighbor, "come on up to the school next Monday night at 7:30. We'll meet then, but I'm sure there won't be more than half a dozen people present."

"What has happened here?," Sam thought. "Why don't people work and play together as they used to?" He tried to find the answers to these questions. At first he had no apparent success, but finally people began telling him. Some described the problem in long, quiet conversations; others spoke emotionally; still others sounded disgusted.

John Rankin, a former president of the Community Club, told Sam the following story—a true story of the gradual growth of a conflict of personal values in his community.

"I suppose that you know this Community Club used to have over 400 people attending each of its meetings. That was three or four years ago, when we were able to get so many things done. Well, a few minor incidents occurred. At least, we thought these incidents were minor disagreements, but there was more to them than we thought. We gave a community lawn party one Friday and, in order to raise some money to buy more equipment for the school auditorium, we sold tickets on home-made cakes. A little girl drew stubs out of a hat and the persons holding those numbers got cakes. Well, we didn't think much about that, but, you know, some people said that drawing those stubs out of a hat was just like gambling.

"Then there was disagreement about our Gift Fund. The Gift Fund was a special account that the Community Club had accumulated to help residents who had experienced some misfortune. You know, when a man died we sent flowers to his relatives, sometimes we supplied milk to the family of a man who was ill and couldn't work, we even bought fuel for some families during last winter's surprise storms. Well, we were criticized for what we did with the Gift Fund—even though it met with the approval of the majority of the club members. Some people said that those things should be done by a charity organization, but we don't have one here. Some even said the school should provide those services. But most people who objected said that those things should be done by the church—a particular church.

"Well, you'd almost think that we had a religious controversy on our hands, but that doesn't ring true. Some members of both churches go along with us, and some of both seem to oppose most of our efforts, although I must admit that one church is more vocal and more definite in its position than the other."

In his slow, deliberate manner, John Rankin might continue to conjecture about the cause of the dwindling membership of the Community Club. Other community residents were not so cautious. Bill Condin, who runs the filling station on East Main Street, put the matter more bluntly:

"Sam, I'll tell you what's the matter with this community. It's that church group right over there on the corner. Now, don't get me wrong. I go to church myself when I can. But they're clannish. They won't gas up here any more. They buy from Ed Stack, who's a member of their church. Now that's their privilege. I know that. But that's what wrecked our Community Club. They decided to take over almost everything it was trying to do—and said that everything else was bad. Those are the facts in a nutshell."

Dr. Benton, who had served Bloomington for years, expressed his views with equal concern:

"I think Bloomington owes an awful lot to our church. It has acted as a stabilizing influence in the community. About two years ago, we found a new young minister and he has pulled the whole

church together. Our members spend most of their time visiting the sick, repairing the church building, and attending meetings there."

Time and again, Sam encountered evidence of this fundamental, elusive disagreement that existed in Bloomington. He would find it when he least expected it. Once he got into a conversation with Mrs. Beasley, one of the older residents, who revealed her conception of the problem in these words:

"Do you know Katherine Partin? Well, Katherine and I went to school together. We both married local boys, and we have lived here all our lives. We used to see each other regularly at Community Club meetings. In fact, we would team up to make cakes for the lawn parties that the club sponsored. But later, when they began drawing for some of the cakes, Katherine didn't much like it. She finally stopped attending the meetings. Then yesterday I saw her across the street. When I started to go over, I noticed that she turned the other way. Now, I don't know what you can do with a person like that. But that's what's the matter with Bloomington. People don't seem to care about each other any more. No, I guess just certain people care about a few others. We don't have a community any more—just a lot of people living around here."

Bloomington is a community in conflict. As the residents sought progress, they went along together. In fact, they could not have achieved so much if they had not worked together. They had obtained results. Changes had been made. However, when the people looked at these changes and the manner in which they had been brought about, they regarded what they saw differently. To some people, these changes were progress; to others they were a needless duplication of the jobs done by schools and churches. Some regarded the proceedings of the Community Club as evil; others said, "Well, everybody seemed to agree to this way of doing it."

Nevertheless, just like the Wallace community in the previous illustration, Blomington was in the grip of an issue that had a disintegrating effect on the community. Within this community,

a fundamental difference of beliefs existed. What was the real basis of difference? What was the real issue? What was producing this feeling that the community was about to shatter into a thousand or more units, each only remotely related to any other? What process can be used to pull such a community together again?

SOME DECISIONS COUNT MORE THAN OTHERS

Decision-making in our communities is so commonplace that it is almost like breathing. Unless one is taxed physically or excited, one does not give breathing a second thought; similarly, the facts about decision-making in most towns are seldom given a second thought—especially if some few prominent people are good at pouring oil on troubled waters. Few communities can make substantial progress without taking a close look at their decision-making processes.

When people are sensitive to the decisions that are being made in their communities, a dilemma of a kind still remains. How can one keep one's eyes on the making of those decisions which really count? Is it important to follow a city council's deliberations on zoning? Is it worth while to follow with care the announcements of new streets to be opened up and old ones to be resurfaced? Does a school bond issue for expanding school facilities really make any difference to anyone except the people who have children and a few teachers?

The answers to these and hundreds of other such questions are not the same for any two persons or for any two communities.

If a city council's decision on zoning might erect a barrier that would stifle the economic expansion and future development of a city, then the deliberations leading to this decision are worth watching; in fact, this might be an occasion that demands community-wide participation in the process of decision-making.

Likewise, the decisions on opening new streets or on passing a bond issue in order to expand school facilities are important largely in relation to their effect on the people and the total development of the community. These and other decisions are important if they involve the use of community resources, if they might further

the understandings of the process of decision-making on the part of the residents, if they motivate residents to face and attempt to resolve long-standing problems that have retarded the progress of the community. These decisions are more important than others. Regardless of whether a community reaches a consensus on such questions as these through the established channels of decision-making or whether it engages in a strenuous contest, a community moves ahead when it makes decisions that concern its basic needs, for these decisions add up to a policy. Just as a person's action reveals to a degree what he values in life, a community's social policy—reflected in one decision after another—shows what the community values.

What is the social policy of your community? When all of the important decisions are totaled, what do you see? How are these decisions made and how is social policy actually formulated?

CHAPTER TEN

HOW DO COMMUNITIES MAKE DECISIONS?

DURING A VACATION or a business trip, many a person has had the experience of discovering a community very similar to his own home town or city. "Look," almost everyone probably has said at one time or another, "that courthouse is just like ours—Doric columns and all!" Then the speaker usually proceeds to catalogue in his mind other similarities that he has noticed, ranging from the pigeons around the post office to the confusion of traffic on the town square, from the feature picture now showing at the Imperial to the city fireman cocked back against the firehouse door on a cane-bottomed chair. Yes, the likenesses among some communities are very often startling—sometimes unbelievable.

Nevertheless, it is possible that communities which have similar appearances might employ very different procedures in solving their problems. On the other hand, although a community may be very much like another in its processes of decision-making, you can rarely predict this resemblance from a casual glance at shop windows or by asking the nearest policeman as you pass through.

Communities and community groups face a variety of decisions—some rather trivial ones and others that will mean much to the long-term development of the community, the township, or the county. Over a period of years, customary patterns of decision-making occur and become entrenched. These patterns seem so

familiar to the residents that the possibility of changing them seldom occurs to them—if a change appears necessary, it seems to betray the past in some fashion. Thus, a customary procedure for deciding the policies of a community is held to—even though the participants are never exactly the same from year to year, and even though the procedure adopted may be grossly inconsistent with the conception of community government verbalized by many of the residents.

Let us examine several common examples of the contrasting nature in different community settings.

DECISIONS BY DEFAULT

When one sees the town of Chadwick, one is impressed by the neatness of the homes there. During the early evenings, particularly in spring and fall, there is a lot of neighbor-to-neighbor talking going on, because people are in their yards fixing up. They take their spades and trim the grass from around their walkways. They water their lawns to keep them green. They even cooperate with each other in such matters as trimming hedges, repairing fences, and cleaning driveways. These activities give one an impression that this small town of 14,500 people is very friendly, and this is a true impression. One naturally attributes this to the limited size of the community. In fact one frequently hears comments to this effect: "Although Roxboro is five times as large as Chadwick and only ten miles from us, I would much rather live here than in the larger city. The people are just much more sociable." Inasmuch as many people work in Roxboro and commute each day, some people explain the friendliness of Chadwick in another way. They say, "We make our living in Roxboro, but we make our home in Chadwick."

This, however, is not the whole story of Chadwick. People who have moved there have a tendency to say, "Yes, Chadwick is a nice place to live, but—." They have a great deal of trouble trying to put their finger on a characteristic of Chadwick that is as general as its air of friendliness, but which appears to be no advantage.

This characteristic of Chadwick is somewhat evasive. It can be picked up here and there by such comments as these: "We don't seem to have any purpose as a community or group." "We are a friendly group but we just seem to exist." "Charlie, the town philosopher, says that we don't live in suspended animation; we just live suspended." "I wonder what would happen to Chadwick if we ever had a town crisis here. People are so busy dashing off to Roxboro to work that they forget they have some responsibilities here." These and other such comments make one curious. Just what is it that makes people feel like this about Chadwick?

The answer to this question can be found only by looking carefully at the kinds of lives people live in Chadwick. One does not have to pry into personal affairs in order to determine how the people relate themselves to each other. One does not have to become engaged in political matters in order to understand that Chadwick lacks something that people need. By simply listing a few events that have occurred, one can quite easily describe this characteristic of Chadwick that seems so intangible to most of its citizens. These events are known to everyone who resides there.

Four years ago a $75,000 bond issue was passed in Chadwick to provide funds for replacing part of the present waterworks. This bond issue was passed by a large vote, but there is a story behind the bond passage that is not recorded in the election records. Just prior to the bond issue election Chadwick had an epidemic of 23 cases of typhoid fever—a stark verification of the public health officer's report, which had condemned the old waterworks for the past three years.

During the same year that Chadwick passed the bond issue for the new waterworks, it lost its chief of police. The chief and three other policemen had very often arrested and fined out-of-town cars and trucks for unavoidable violations of the law, violations that resulted from poorly marked speed zones and parking areas. This went on for some time until finally a grand jury investigated the records and complaints of drivers who had been "rigged," as they put it.

One day the people of Chadwick read in the local newspaper

about the sale of a large lot behind the city hall, a lot that was public property and that had existed as an undeveloped park for some time. The sale was pushed through legal channels by the city manager to an "interested party." After the sale was final, the people who constituted the "interested party" became known and the city manager was a member of the group. Chadwick now needs additional space for a new fire station, a downtown park, and a parking area. The city property that was sold to the "interested party" is now being developed at a considerable profit to its owners. Several new stores are being erected on this property.

At present parents are complaining about the overcrowded classrooms in two of the public schools. The superintendent of schools has worked with the board of education and the city commissioners for the past two years in an effort to get additional rooms constructed at each school. Now the children are there, but the rooms are not there. The board of education and the city council have agreed to construct the necessary additions to each building; however, this work will take at least a year and a half. The pupils will have to work in crowded classrooms, and some classes will have to be conducted in hallways, until the new rooms are constructed.

Although each of these events is in many ways different from the other, there is a kind of continuity that runs through them all. It is apparent that in this friendly, very attractive community there is no means by which the people can express themselves. Events occur and the people feel that they have no control over them; decisions are made by default. The people logically enough are interested in their homes and in their work in Roxboro. They do not have the social and political ties that enable the consensus of a group to be known and felt where it counts. So, as a community they float until they hit a rock. Then they drift some more.

ONLY A FEW DECIDE

In Jacksonville, the county seat of Madison County, R. L. Caswell was seen coming out of the county's only office building other than the County Court House. As Caswell walked along the crowded sidewalks of this rural town on a bright Saturday morning, he

greeted a number of people cheerfully. In fact, he seldom went ten feet without saying, "Hi there, Jim!," "Whadya say there, Bill!," or "Jack, you old so-and-so. Where have you been keeping yourself?" Obviously, this balding 51-year-old man knew many people and was well known and liked by them. This man is the superintendent of Madison County schools. He is known as a very good, efficient superintendent, and for years he has taken a leadership position in county affairs.

As Caswell walked past the County Court House in the direction of the uptown drugstore, he was noticed by Sam Osborne, who had been the county auditor for the past 17 years. Looking over the heads of several workers in his office and out the window in the rear of the courthouse building, Osborne noticed the direction in which Caswell was walking. Suddenly, he said to his head secretary, "Mrs. Rawls, I'll be out for about 15 or 20 minutes." In the eyes of the people of Madison County, Sam Osborne was one of the most reliable men in the county. It had been said that the county commissioners always relied on his judgment concerning financial matters. Moreover, Sam Osborne would take time from his work to help anybody fill out his federal or state income tax papers. People always felt free to come to him for all kinds of advice, and Sam gave them the advice without charging a cent.

Sam got a cup of coffee at the fountain and turned to see Caswell seated in one of the booths. Then what appeared to be a coincidental meeting took place between the two men. Caswell called out, "Hi, Sam, come on over and have a seat." "Thanks," replied Sam, "I believe this coffee would be safer on the table there." Once they were seated together, Sam Osborne commented in a much lower tone, "Well, I see you've heard about it. What do you think?" Caswell replied, "We might as well get behind it. We won't need another bond issue for schools for the next two or three years. Jacksonville can use an auditorium. It'll pull more business this way. I guess it would even pull people in from beyond our county to the north and west. What do you think?" "Well, I agree with you. But you know getting money for an auditorium is not like getting money for schools, or roads, or something like that."

Caswell posed a question, "Do you know who's really behind it?"

"Yes," was the reply, "Forrest had the idea and interested some of the other boys in the Lions Club, and then he went on to write the editorial you saw in the paper this morning."

"Well, you know Earl and Bascom will fight it, don't you?"

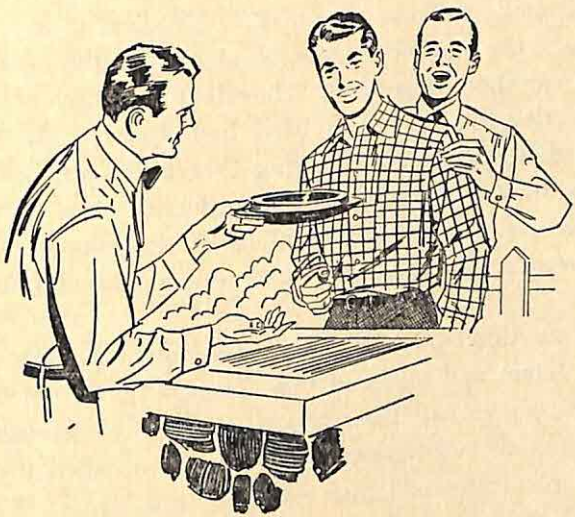
"Sure, that's why we'd better get together. What'll it be?"

Osborne came back with the answer, "Oh, let's make it a steak fry at my house. I'll get in touch with Forrest and Carl. Who will you see?"

"I'll get Jim and Gleason and Art. That'll just about do it."

"O. K. I'll see you Tuesday night."

The conversation at the steak fry was lively, touching upon a variety of subjects. Three other persons had been invited, and they all voiced their opinions on everything from the World Series to the possible damage done to the crops by the drought. In the midst of this casual conversation Osborne made a comment that had a definite note of seriousness about it. He said, "Forrest, I



liked your idea about the auditorium. Your editorial made a good statement about what it could mean to Jacksonville." No sooner had Osborne made the comment than Caswell followed through

with, "I'd like to see an auditorium here, too. Do you think that you and the boys in the Lions Club will be able to put it over?" Forrest Oakley, editor of the local newspaper, recognized the lead in this question and commented immediately, "Well, it's gonna take more than that as you know. It'll become a political football. Earl and Bascom will beat it down just because we proposed it." At this point Oakley was interrupted by Osborne, who suggested, "I think a group like this ought to be able to do something, what do you say, Gleason?"

Gleason, a tall, robust farmer, looked at Osborne and then said, "Well, if it's Bascom you're worrying about, I'll take care of him. I'll let him know that if he fights this I'll beat him all hollow in the next election. He knows I can do it, too."

From this point on, the discussion became increasingly serious, and definite plans were formulated to stop all opposition and push the proposal for the auditorium through. Each sector of the county was plotted to determine what strength could be relied upon in the contest, and every source of opposition was carefully evaluated and plans were made to "take care of it." Needless to say, public endorsement of the auditorium was obtained. In the minds of a few people, a question remained. They had carefully observed who was supporting this proposal. They had observed also the manner in which these people were trying to get the proposal accepted. Therefore, they wondered, with some justification, to what extent this choice represented the opinions of the people and to what extent it represented the desires of a few people who had extended influence.

The above description actually represents a pattern of decision-making. Time and again in this community, an occurrence such as the one above had taken place. Under the leadership of two very influential persons, various people were called together in an informal manner to talk over pending civic issues. These groups always involved Caswell, Osborne, Oakley, and Gleason; the other members of the group were invited according to the nature of the issue that had to be decided. Thus, these meetings were held at different places, they involved different people with the exception

of a few, they concerned different issues, but they always concluded with an outline of a very definite stand and course of action. Although a caucus of this nature did not make the final decision on any issue, it undeniably had a bearing on most decisions which faced the county. The group was always composed of very loyal, well-meaning citizens, and these citizens acted usually in the interests of the welfare of the county. Nevertheless, this was a procedure that enabled a few people not only to influence but virtually to control decision-making in the county as a whole.

DECISIONS EMERGING FROM CONFLICT

Clarendon is a town with a well-known and respected past but, at least in the minds of some of its residents, a rather uncertain future. The Smithson County Court House is an old but nonetheless noble-looking structure. The buildings that line Main Street possess weatherbeaten cornerstones dating back 30, 40, 50, even 70 years. Most of the well-constructed homes in the residential districts of Clarendon give an indication of the town's place in the traditions of the past and the history of the state. However, this attachment to the past is not acknowledged equally by all of the residents. There are those people who see for Clarendon a kind of measured progress that is an extension of the role it has played in the past. There are other residents who see a different role for this city of 45,000 people. To this latter group, Clarendon has to change and grow with the times or it will lose its role of leadership in county affairs. This general difference of opinion about the role and fate of Clarendon is not a point of contention. In fact, the greatest manifestation of this difference is reflected by the manner in which most decisions were made in the county. This is the story of what happened there recently.

Within the city there is a very progressive organization that calls itself the Clarendon Civic Club. Its president is Alton Horner, a young man 34 years of age who recently became prosperous in the lumber business. Tim Smith is also a member. After World War II, Tim borrowed money and bought a restaurant. Now he is on his feet, independent, and becoming more interested in things

other than business. R. C. Black is also a member of the Clarendon Civic Club. He now owns three supermarkets, one of which he manages himself. He has always been known as a hard worker and a "good boy." Louie Ackley, another member, is in the insurance business with his father. The Ackley Insurance Company has an excellent coverage of Clarendon and the county as a whole. The Clarendon Civic Club is not only a civic organization to Louie; it is also a field of operation. Other members of the Clarendon Civic Club are comparatively young men; they have done reasonably well in business, and they have many common interests in business as well as in social affairs. Nevertheless, out of this loyal, well-meaning group came a simple proposal that "split Clarendon wide open," as the residents said.

One Friday morning the Clarendon *News* released a story on a proposal that had received the full endorsement of the Clarendon Civic Club in its meeting the night before. The members of this organization had proposed that a factory be induced to establish operations in Clarendon. The news article further explained that an industry would result in the growth of the city and provide more employment opportunities for Clarendon residents. It was further intimated that at least three companies had expressed an interest in locating a factory in a town about the size of Clarendon.

Many of the residents of Clarendon read this news article. Some read it with comparative disinterest, some with interest, and some with optimistic enthusiasm. However, one group of men in Clarendon became immediately and unalterably opposed to the proposal. These men were not in an organization such as the Clarendon Civic Club, but they were men who were alike in many ways. Clint Beacham, the mayor, was a man in his late fifties. He expressed a mild objection to the proposal at first in such words as, "Well, if people can't find enough work in Clarendon, they can always go to another city." Later he became a more ardent opponent of the proposal. As one might expect, John Arvil, Mayor Beacham's first cousin, did not approve of the proposal. Although he was a rather quiet man, people soon discovered that he really opposed inviting a factory to Clarendon. Bob Seymour, who had

rendered legal service to the residents of Clarendon for years, was an immediate opponent of the Civic Club's project. He and several others, such as Lyle Sumner of the Sumner Furniture Store, were known to be in agreement on this matter. These men provided a nucleus of staunch opposition to the proposal. They felt that a factory was unneeded in the community, but, more important, they recognized that a factory would bring to the community many more people and thereby threaten their prestige. Thus the simple proposal of the Clarendon Civic Club rapidly shaped itself into a full-scale controversy or civic issue. How did each of these groups affect the outcome of the issue? How was the issue finally settled?

Owing to the talk the proposal had created, the Clarendon Civic Club in its next meeting decided to go one step further in promoting this project. They collected subscriptions to the amount of $25,000 from among the members of the organization and other interested businessmen in the town. This money was to be forthcoming when and if a factory decided to choose Clarendon as its site. It was to act as the first payment toward the construction of the factory building. The investors were to receive a proportionate return on their money through rent.

Soon after this inducement by the Clarendon Civic Club was generally known, a rumor was being circulated freely among the uptown business circles. The rumor was to the effect that a factory would overtax both the water and sewage facilities in Clarendon. No one knew whether this was really true or not; in fact most of the people avoided identifying the source of the comment by simply saying "they say" that this would be true. Two or three people did recall that John Arvil had asked them questions that went something like this: "I wonder how much more we'd have to spend for water and sewage improvements if the factory came to Clarendon?"; "Even if a big factory came here, we would have to supply it with water and sewage facilities, wouldn't we?"; and "If one of those really big factories came here, it would cost us a plenty to increase our present water and sewage facilities by almost a third, but we'd just have to pay up, wouldn't we?" The net effect of this rumor was that some people began to question the value of having a fac-

tory come to Clarendon, if more expenditures of public funds would be called for to provide added utilities.

Despite the waning public interest in the Clarendon Civic Club's project, each of the three interested factories sent inspection teams to Clarendon. These teams looked into the various locations that were available to a factory, the nearness of these sites to rail centers, and the potential number of workers that would be available. The inspection teams of two of the three factories gave very favorable reports and expressed a positive opinion that their officials would be willing to negotiate soon with persons holding the desirable plots of land. This news precipitated an outright struggle between the men who were in opposition to the proposal and the more progressive businessmen who had accepted the role of building up Clarendon by bringing in more industry.

The more conservative citizens used their prestige and connections with the seven members of the city council and the mayor to appoint a zoning commission. The intent of this proposal was detected immediately by the members of the Clarendon Civic Club, who realized that the first act of such a commission would be to restrict the factories from purchasing and locating on the desirable sites. Thus a contest developed between the members of the Clarendon Civic Club and their friends on the one hand, and a group of well-to-do citizens with common financial interests and considerable personal prestige on the other. The latter group had two considerable advantages: the mayor was a member of this group, and the issue would have to be settled by the members of the city council by their decision either to appoint a zoning committee or not.

The Clarendon Civic Club feted the members of the city council at a luncheon and reviewed the whole project of inducing industry to locate in Clarendon. The members of the council listened intently but were noncommittal. The informal group of people who opposed bringing industry to Clarendon did not plan such an activity for the members of the city council; however, the mayor, John Arvil, Lyle Sumner, and several others of the same interest were seen talking to individual council members. When the council

met there was considerable tension, and the tension was heightened still further as they adjourned to an executive session. The council voted six to one in favor of a zoning commission, the members of which were to be named by the mayor.

This action virtually killed the Clarendon Civic Club's hope of bringing industry to the city. Its members diverted their interest and energy to other projects. About a month later most of the members of the Club saw their worst prediction realized. The Clarendon *News* carried on one of its inside pages a brief announcement of the newly created zoning commission. The headline read simply, "Beacham's Grove and Heiken's Meadow Zoned for Future Residential Development." These were the two sites that had interested the inspection teams who were surveying Clarendon for desirable factory sites.

This struggle for a decision was not unusual in Clarendon. The alignments of the groups that opposed each other in the factory issue were alignments that had occurred many times before. The more conservative, vested-interest group were continually eyeing "those young shavetails." The liberal young businessmen envisioned the older leaders in the county as symbols of a past era, men who were willing to let the world pass Clarendon by—just to be on the safe side. Frequent conflicts between these informal groups had erected a barrier to the frank consideration of any community problem. As a result, virtually every decision about community affairs was a contested decision—even a favorable compromise was considered a major accomplishment.

DECISION-MAKING BY CONSENSUS

Lawrenceville is a small rural community in the southern section of the county. The community has about 1,500 residents. The people rely largely on farming and cattle raising for a livelihood, although some Lawrenceville residents earn their living by cutting crossties and selling them to the railroads. The community has the usual business enterprises: general stores, a cafe, filling stations, a hardware store, a furniture store, a doctor who has his home and office combined, and a bank. The homes are not pretentious.

A modern eight-teacher school, the pride of the community, is used widely for many community activities. Two churches of different denominations serve most of the residents of the community. Thus, Lawrenceville is very much like hundreds of other American communities, but it is different in several important respects. To see how it is different from many other towns of its size, let us look at some of the things that have happened in Lawrenceville.

About five years ago, Eugene Owen, the principal of the school, became alarmed over the general apathy that seemed to encompass Lawrenceville. Many of the adults knew each other but never took the time to do anything together. Most of the young people left the community in search of recreation. In fact, there was very little for a teen-age boy or girl to do other than assist with routine tasks around the home or the farm. Although this concerned Mr. Owen, his real problem, as he saw it, was to get a Parent-Teacher Association established in the community. He had tried for the past two years, but he realized that the rather feeble PTA he had succeeded in establishing was going the way of most activities in Lawrenceville. It was just dwindling away—fewer and fewer people attended, and the organization was not doing anything worth while. At this point Mr. Owen decided to get together with Randolph Spears and Ralph Macon, two of the most influential people in the community. Mr. Spears sold crossties to the railroads, and Mr. Macon was the owner of the largest dairy farm in the vicinity. These three men agreed that something had to be done to revitalize Lawrenceville. They also realized that if this was accomplished it had to be done by the people themselves. Therefore, they organized the Lawrenceville Community Club, an organization to which all people were invited.

The first meeting of the Lawrenceville Community Club was a memorable affair. A large crowd was present, although most people were not sure why they were there. Some people remarked that they had lived all their lives in Lawrenceville yet had never before been in a meeting such as this with some of the other people who were there. There were, in fact, just about as many attitudes present as there were people. Some people were just delighted at having an opportunity to get together with so many different people. There were those, too, who did not really see the purpose of the meeting at all. And there were a few who were somewhat suspicious of the meeting and tried to read into it motives that were not intended. Nevertheless, the Lawrenceville Community Club was organized, and the reasons for its existence were explained by Mr. Spears. Out of this initial meeting came one of its first projects. The members who were there agreed to participate in the state-wide community improvement contest, and in order to prepare for this contest they decided to stage a clean-up and paint-up campaign during the next two weeks. They organized into committees and work groups and went away from the meeting with an enthusiasm that was rare indeed in Lawrenceville. Mr. Owen, Mr. Spears, and Mr. Macon were really less concerned with what was to happen as the result of the clean-up and paint-up campaign than with the fact that apparently the people of Lawrenceville were getting together on at least one project. When Lawrenceville took third place in the state-wide contest for community improvement, the Lawrenceville Community Club was accepted by almost every citizen in the town as a necessary organization.

After this first project, the Lawrenceville Community Club made real progress. It organized and sponsored a local softball team that won the county championship. It sponsored three annual social events: a springtime picnic, which was held at the Smith's Ferry Landing; a fall square dance; and a Christmas party. The Club also raised an emergency fund, through individual subscriptions, to be used for members of the Lawrenceville community to whom an accident or domestic tragedy occurred. One family whose home was burned up completely was fed for two weeks out of this

fund. The organization gave the local school solid support in its entire program. The meetings were held in the school building, and more people than ever before visited and became thoroughly acquainted with the school and its staff. Some of the townspeople supplied considerable classroom equipment on their own initiative. One of the most significant projects that the Lawrenceville Community Club undertook was securing state funds for paving the road leading from the state highway into their community. Although there was considerable competition for these funds from other communities, the Lawrenceville Community Club organized a committee of its most influential citizens and planned and paid for their visit to the state road commissioner. The commissioner was so impressed by the manner in which the Lawrenceville group came to him and the reasons they presented to him that he awarded the funds to Lawrenceville. Thus Lawrenceville through its community organization was able to develop a spirit of unity and a way of agreeing on things to be done. In other communities, one came to hear comments about the Lawrenceville group that went something like this: "Those Lawrenceville folks know what they want and go after it." "Before we enter into a contest with Lawrenceville, we have to be sure that we can make a real show." "The reason Lawrenceville can get things done is that the people over there agree on things. Here in Claxton we always have too many dissenters."

Although the people of Lawrenceville do get together on things, they have nevertheless had precarious moments when they were trying to launch many of their projects. For example, the plan for organizing the softball league almost blew up over the issue of whether or not the ball team would play on Sunday. The annual Christmas party almost went on the rocks because some people wanted to hold it on Christmas Day. Nevertheless, these issues were kept well within the jurisdiction of the Community Club, and the people were committed to the idea that some kind of satisfactory agreement could be reached in each instance. Perhaps the key to the success of the group was that they always tried to develop a plan on which most of the people could agree. They were

not satisfied with working out a mere compromise. This was perhaps the real secret of the strength of the Lawrenceville Community Club. Their projects were not earthshaking in their consequences, nor did the club have any mysterious power as a civic organization. It merely presented a means whereby the people of the community could get together, decide, and agree on things to be done. This general agreement seemed to provide the impetus that was needed to put over any project. It supplied the identity that each individual member needed with the plans of the group. It offered an outlet for energies and an opportunity for recognition. When people in other communities bemoan the fact that they have no such organization, the residents of Lawrenceville are inclined to reply, "Well, in Lawrenceville it works. We like it."

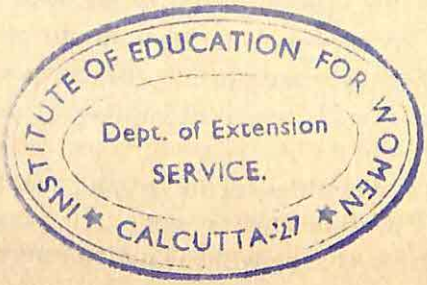
IT'S A NEVER-ENDING PROCESS

The preceding examples show a few of the many ways in which people in hamlets, cities, and counties act in making decisions. The decisions made as a result of these patterns vary in quality and may agree or disagree with the credo to which the majority of citizens in the community give verbal allegiance.

Many other types of decision-making situations can be envisioned from actual experience. In some communities one finds a single person who is most influential in decision-making, such as "the Great White Father" referred to earlier. In some instances this person may have as his prime purpose controlling the decisions of a community or group; in other instances he may not actually want to be responsible for the decisions of the group or for influencing the decisions of the group at all. In larger communal groups such as cities, pressure groups are well defined, and in some instances they cooperate and team up to get things done. Of course, there are many examples of pressure groups in cities that are continuously at odds, each attempting to sabotage the efforts of the others.

Since communities, counties, and metropolitan areas do have a variety of decisions to make, it is important that they have a means whereby consensus on these matters may be reached. Of course,

legal provisions are made for enough of a governmental structure to provide essential services to society, but it does not always follow that adequate provisions have been made for the people to agree on all matters that interest them and have value to them as a body. In the long run, it is agreement on matters of policy and on many other decisions made in view of policy that provides a sense of unity in any community. How can the decisions of a community be made to hang together? Are they in line with any common policy that is accepted by other members of the community? What are some of the barriers to good decision-making in communities?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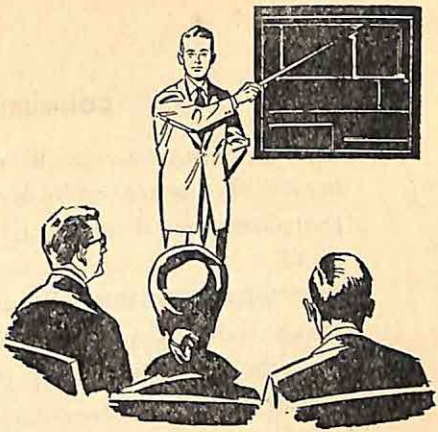


CHAPTER ELEVEN

GOOD DECISIONS OVERCOME MANY ROADBLOCKS

REGARDLESS OF whether a person lives in a metropolitan center, a small community, or a sparsely settled rural area, he and his fellow citizens will be faced with important decisions that must be made as long as they exercise the liberty which they have in a free country, particularly the privilege of participating in self-government. Furthermore, the decisions in which they participate may concern a variety of questions or problems. Not only will the issues themselves be difficult to understand, but various prominent citizens and pressure groups will seek to win support for a particular point of view and thereby add considerably to the difficulty of making what might otherwise have been a simple decision. In short, decision-making that concerns itself with important social policies is hard work and big business—just about the biggest business there is. Participation in self-government eventually determines what opportunities people shall have in business, what protection they shall have in organized society, what restraints they must impose upon themselves, and what liberties they may exercise without interference.

All this adds up to a very complex picture. Clearly the citizen must be sensitive to those characteristics of decision-making which tend to distort this important process. If the various processes of decision-making are distorted or circumscribed, many expressions of

vested interests are completely accepted in the name of the common good and the general welfare. What are some of the roadblocks to making good decisions in society?

WHO DETERMINES WHAT THE ISSUE IS?

What would the average citizen do if he saw announced in the morning paper that the county superintendent of schools had asked the county commissioners for a tax increase of 20 cents per $100 property valuation? Although he admittedly might not be in favor of a tax increase, very probably the first thing he would do would be to reach for an envelope or any scrap of paper, list the valuation of his property, and multiply it by the new tax rate. Then he would subtract from this figure the amount of taxes he paid the last year, and in this way he would arrive at a gross estimate of the amount of money a 20-cent tax increase would cost him over his last year's taxes. On the basis of this figure and his beliefs about public finance, he would then decide whether to vote "yes" or "no" on the tax increase. In other words, he would attempt to understand generally what the additional funds were to be used for, and he would want to know how much such an increase would cost him in dollars and cents. Then and only then would he be in a position to decide for himself what to do.

A citizen might vote "yes" for a 20-cent tax increase, provided there had been no recent increases and he felt the cause was justifiable. However, he would be much less prone to vote "yes" for a 40-cent tax increase for the same cause. It stands to reason that the amount of tax increase asked for has a lot to do with the possibility of getting any increase. Followed to its logical conclusion, this means that the person or persons who have the authority for formulating or approving the proposal for the tax increase can influence significantly its chances of passing.

If for personal reasons a member of a county tax commission objected strenuously to a tax increase, what would be his alternatives in seeking to influence the decision about whether or not additional taxes should be levied for the benefit of the public schools? Of course, the member of the commission would have the right to vote

on such a proposal just like any other citizen, but his most effective opposition could be rendered in determining what was submitted to the people for their decision. He might, for example, insist upon only a 15-cent tax increase, which would hardly give the superintendent enough additional funds to accomplish what was proposed in his request for a tax increase. On the other hand, such a member could insist that at least a 50-cent tax increase be asked for, thereby virtually assuring that the people in the county would vote against such a vast increase.

Thus, it is incumbent upon those who assume the responsibilities of making decisions in society not only to know who formulated the issue or proposal that faces them but also to realize fully that the statement of the proposal has a very definite effect upon an opinion of it. The process of decision-making is improved when the issue upon which the people must decide is presented to them by legally responsible officials with as little personal bias as possible. The best options should lie before the people for their choice.

WHO SHOULD HAVE A PART IN MAKING THE DECISION?

If one can indulge in just "hanging around" the city hall or the court house for a while, one will hear such comments as these: "Judge Barksdale's gonna rule on that." "Why, the only way that can be done is through a vote of the general electorate." "That's a matter for the county commissioners to decide. You can petition them if you want to." "That falls under the jurisdiction of the mayor as the administrative official of the city." "No, the city manager can't decide that, but he can recommend to the city council and they will render a decision." Such comments not only are made on public affairs, but also reach into business, into social organizations, and even into homes. The big question is "who decides?" It makes a difference.

The mayor of Clarksville was known as a work horse. He came into office on a platform of getting things done, and after he had been in office only a few months most of the residents would have been willing to agree that his commitments to get things done had already been very well carried out. But Mayor Sams considered

himself to be "just getting in the swing of things." In fact, he had just pushed through the city council the final appropriations that would make possible the building of a city office building. The proposed new building would house many of the city agencies and save the city from having to pay rent in other office buildings. It would furthermore consolidate all of these agencies in one vicinity, so that people could do business with more than one agency without having to go to several parts of the city. The entire matter of the new city office building was settled, with the exception of the selection of a site. At the last council meeting the mayor had appointed a committee of three members of the council to make final arrangements for awarding the contract and to decide upon a suitable location for the building.

Although Mayor Sams believed in delegating responsibility to other people, he was somewhat perturbed when he heard that the councilmen on the committee were considering four possible locations. He had known of only two possible locations, one of which was obviously much more desirable than the other. The chairman of the committee told the mayor about the two other possibilities. One was the building diagonally across the street from the present city hall, a building that had been razed by fire six months ago. The other proposed location was a parking lot on a corner five blocks from the present city hall. This lot had been offered to the city by its owners at a considerable concession in price. The mayor accepted this information and began to ponder it.

The more Mayor Sams thought about the two new locations, the less he liked them. In fact, he concluded that if the new office buildings were erected on either of these two lots, he and his administration would be criticized for years to come. This opinion had just become firmly fixed in the mayor's mind the next day when he received a telephone call from the chairman of the committee. The chairman said that the committee had voted two to one in favor of the parking lot, on which the owner had made such a generous concession. The mayor asked the chairman one question: "Have you contacted the owner yet?" On finding that no one had contacted the owner, the mayor went into action. He sent out in the

next mail official notices of a special session of the city council to convene for the purpose of deciding upon the location of the new city office building—a purpose that obviously deprived the committee of its authority to act. In the meantime, the mayor was busily engaged in telephoning all the other members of the city council. He expressed to them his convictions about a suitable location, and he sought from them verbal commitments that agreed with his point of view in this issue. When the city council met three days later, making an official decision concerning the best location for the city office building was a relatively simple matter. A proposal read by one of the councilmen who had not been a member of the original committee passed on the first hearing.

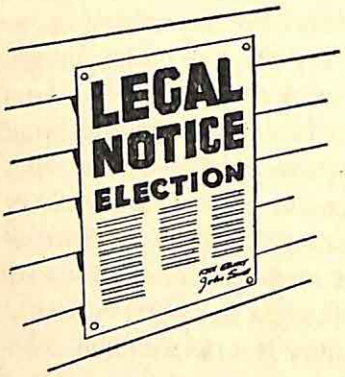
The point illustrated by the above account is a simple one. The new city office building would have been erected at one point if the appointed committee had followed through on its decision, but it was erected at another location because the city council made this decision. In other words, the matter of who has a part in a decision may influence the decision considerably.

"HOW" IS AS IMPORTANT AS "WHAT"

People are generally more concerned about what is to be decided than about how a particular decision will be made. One reason that partially explains this emphasis on the *what* of decision-making rather than the *how* is that there are a number of traditional methods of making decisions which are accepted without question. These methods are structurally sound from a democratic point of view; that is, theoretically they follow the pattern of a large group's delegating some of its sovereign power to a sub-group in the form of various responsibilities. Thus, a board of county commissioners or a city council may act for all the residents of the county or city. These and other methods of making decisions have become accepted, they are traditional, and they are seldom closely examined in operation.

These traditional methods of decision-making are subject, however, to various kinds of abuses and distortions that affect the quality of the decisions made by means of them. Everyone has read and

heard the various claims and counter-claims made over a contested election. Of course, these more flagrant abuses of the elective method of making choices very often do not produce unfortunate outcomes. The simple fact that in many elections only a small percentage of the voting population actually participates in making a decision is evidence enough that a method in which many people place great faith is being neglected. Many ballots are cast in an election by people who have not made any effort to inform themselves of the real issues. Citizens in some communities and metropolitan areas are very often blind to many practices that they know undermine the value of the elective process. Thus, even one of the most cherished techniques for obtaining decisions in critical matters of social policy is very often neglected and abused, largely because of the people's absolute faith in it as a part of a democratic framework.



Although much of the work in any social setting must be delegated to small groups and committees, this particular method of representation and cooperation has suffered abuses. The lack of loyalty to committee membership, for example, has become almost a standing joke. The number of committees that are appointed to do particular kinds of jobs yet which lack full authority to do these jobs is astounding. Many committees are appointed with the power to recommend, and they do recommend, only to see their recommendations fulfilled on rare occasions or not at all. Few people have been in committee meetings who have not become aware of the fact that the committee is slanted from the standpoint of the composition of its membership; thus, the decision of a committee really is representative of the wishes of a particular interest group. In spite of the vast amount of good work turned out each day by many committees, the committee as a decision-making or decision-implementing group in society is very often reduced to an ineffective

device because its goals and functions are not clearly understood by its members.

The community group meeting, which had its origin years ago in New England in the form of town meetings, is another well-known method of decision-making. It offers a very effective way of getting the frank, open, intellectual consideration of a problem by a large number of people. In recent years much of what has been learned about the science of group dynamics has been employed to sharpen our sensitivity to the actual processes involved in such meetings. However, in some instances this information has been used to secure a group endorsement of a vested interest. In a society in which pressure groups of all kinds have a right to assemble and to seek their goals, it is incumbent upon other members of the community to be extremely sensitive to the functioning of these groups within the means provided by a democratic society. The "how" of decision-making is usually just as important as what is being decided.

"I DON'T KNOW ENOUGH ABOUT IT TO HAVE AN OPINION"

Archie Green was a tobacco farmer. His farm was a rather large one compared with the others in his county. He had the second largest acreage allotment for growing tobacco, a plot of some excellent timber, and several acres that he used for planting other crops. Archie, as he was called by almost everyone in the county who knew him, had a very winning personality. He was friendly, frank, and opinionated. For this and other reasons, he was looked upon as a leader of the farm bloc in his county. He had taken a stand on many important issues in the past, and he had brought considerable support to bear upon his point of view. Archie himself really had some misgivings about the leadership that he had provided the farmers in the past. Although he would be the last one to admit publicly to having been just a little off base, Archie realized that in some instances his leadership could have been better. Certain issues in the making had looked disturbingly different when a showdown had come. This was a problem that interested Archie, and he had plenty of time to think about it.

Archie thought in specifics. He recalled fully the last time he had

been asked to work on an important policy for the local farm group. He distinctly remembered that the group had wanted to establish its position in reference to a constitutional revision designed to give more local control to bills presented in the state legislature. He had definitely opposed this measure for three weeks, although he had not openly committed himself on a position. Finally, he got a copy of

the bill and read it and began to think what it would mean to his county. He completely reversed his position and advocated that the proposed constitutional revision be supported by the farm bloc. His advice was sound and the amendment was passed. "Well," said Archie to himself, "I just about split my breeches on that one, didn't I? I almost didn't get enough information to make the right decision in time."

Whenever an issue occurs now and Archie is asked for an opinion, he very frequently says, "Well, I don't know, let me give the matter some thought." However, when he does take a stand on a particular position, one can be certain that Archie has a pretty good basis for

what he says. Not only has he taken the time to get adequate information, but he has learned where to look for the kind of information that bears upon his concerns in the issue. In fact, he very often starts his talks to the farm bloc in words such as these: "Now, boys, here's what you ought to know about this proposal before making up your mind about it." In short, Archie has given himself a liberal education in decision-making. He knows that good decisions must be made on the basis of adequate, reliable information.

"LET'S PUT UP A FIGHT FOR IT"

Since the Boston Tea Party of Revolutionary days, many people have prided themselves in exerting their independence. The manner in which they have chosen to do this has taken varied forms. In any event, an attitude of almost unlimited independence is often encountered in decision-making situations in some communities and in many organizations. Such an attitude, when expressed without any restraints, rapidly converts the processes of decision-making into a contest. The participants then at best can hope for only a compromise, and the possibility of arriving at a consensus is virtually destroyed. Although manifest interest in a particular problem is a wholesome characteristic of any society, this interest is very often expressed in the form of a dogmatic position on an issue. When a board of education is considering consolidating a school in a particular community, the residents of that community who are determined to put up a fight for the school may come before the board with a petition. When a city council holds a hearing on its proposal to put through two new streets in the downtown area, a number of businessmen may appear before the council determined to block the move. In both of these instances, the people who are appearing before the respective representative bodies have little to offer in helping make a decision. It is their privilege to be heard, and what they say should be duly considered by those responsible for making the decisions. However, their concern is not to get the best solution but to get the particular solution that they want.

When this attitude prevails among a group that has the responsibility for making a decision, fair consideration of the best possible

solution to a particular problem is virtually blocked. The entire process of decision-making fades away into a compromise in which each member attempts to secure the greatest amount of bargaining power. Better decisions demand a better attitude than "Let's put up a fight for it."

"BUT ANYBODY KNOWS THAT A FACT IS A FACT"

In many communities people live together who have very diverse personal values. Beyond the scope of purely physical phenomena, about which demonstrable statements can be made, personal values determine what is right, what is true, and what is real to the people who hold them. In many matters of public concern, these people, even though they hold to diverse values, can work together co-operatively and productively. However, in some matters of social concern, people have to base their positions on their personal values. When people with diverse values try to come together in an attempt to make a decision on such a matter, a complete disagreement is immediately evident. Furthermore, their own positions are the only reasonable solutions to those people who hold them. Their personal values and beliefs do not permit them to see another position as even remotely tenable. How do these conflicts look when they occur in communities?

In a rural area a community group decides to build up and administer a Sunshine Fund. The money from this fund will be used from time to time to buy flowers and cards for people who are sick. To many citizens this seems to be a worth-while project in every way, but other members of the community look upon the proposal as questionable. They agree that this is a worth-while project, but they consider that such a fund should be the responsibility of a religious organization to which they belong. As a result, they do not feel that they can participate in the community project. Thus, by virtue of a belief they hold and prior commitments they have made, they cannot participate; they have only one position that is reasonable to them, and that position is in opposition to the plan.

Many decisions must be made that concern important social policies; yet, the people in whose hands the decisions lie do not see

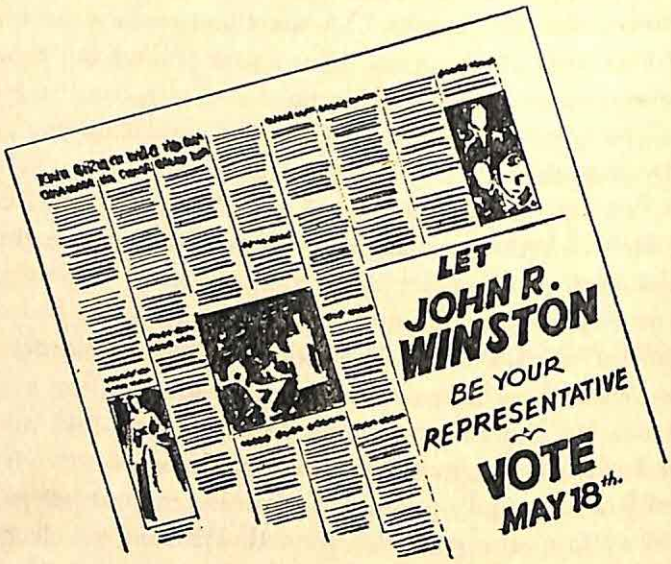
any alternatives because of the beliefs they hold or the ideals to which they are committed. To them a particular position in reference to the decision at hand is already a fact; therefore, only one course of action lies ahead. This is a situation that inevitably must block some kinds of decisions. It is a situation which, if recognized and acknowledged, may lead to more understanding and tolerance rather than misunderstanding and bitterness. Thus, facts alone do not tell the story. Other very important considerations are involved. Upon what basis is a fact accepted as such? How are facts related to a system of logic or reasoning? How are they brought to bear upon the issue pending decision?

SOME DECISIONS DO NOT REPRESENT PUBLIC OPINION

Ralston County's legislative body met in the form of a quarterly county court. The county court was composed of 42 magistrates elected at large throughout the county on the basis of two from each civil district. A county judge was also elected, and he presided as chairman of the county court. John R. Winston, an electrical appliance dealer with a store on Main Street, was now serving his third four-year term as a member of the county court. Squire Winston had considered himself to be a very successful magistrate. He had always attended the county court meetings; in fact, he had a perfect attendance record, having missed only a few of the special sessions. As he put it, he had always tried to "get things for people" because he thought that was his job as their representative on the county court. Over the years he had presumed that he was doing a pretty good job. However, at the last meeting of the court he had an experience that cast a shadow over his past decade or so of public service.

Here is a very brief account of what happened to Squire Winston in court. A court order had been read which, if passed by a majority of the magistrates, would open a large county-owned game preserve during hunting season without any of the existing hunting controls. After the order had been read, the judge, as presiding officer of the court, opened the floor for discussion, and Squire Winston obtained the floor. Squire Winston was a member of the

Fox-Hunters Club, and at the last meeting at least half a dozen of the members had asked him to speak on behalf of the measure that



was now under consideration by the court. Now the opportunity had presented itself and he spoke in favor of the court order. It was at this point that Squire Winston had a rather jarring experience.

Squire McKinsey took the floor and asked him a series of questions. The first question was, "Squire Winston, are you a member of the Fox-Hunters Club?" The answer to this, of course, was yes. The next question was, "Squire Winston, in the plea you have just entered were you speaking on behalf of yourself, the Fox-Hunters Club, or the constituency which you represent?" This was a question that Squire Winston, despite his many years of experience in the county court, could not answer. The fact that he completely muffed the answer to the question caused him some embarrassment. However, most of the men in the court were his friends, and this embarrassment did not really bother him. What did bother him, even now, was the fact that he still did not know the answer to this question. He had turned it over in his mind time and time again.

He never could arrive at a satisfactory answer. More and more his attention was drawn to one big question: "How does a man in my position represent his constituency?" Was it his right to act in terms of his own judgment and interest just because he was elected magistrate? Should he make some effort to find out what people think about issues before making his decision in court? How could he possibly get a consensus of opinion in such a large civil district as he represented?

These questions that concerned Squire Winston represent some of the problems which must be faced by any society that entrusts many of its decisions about social policy to a representative body. Squire Winston was a conscientious person who wanted to know the real functions of his job as a representative. Unfortunately, one finds in a representative system considerable variance, not only in conceptions of the functions of a representative, but also in the desire to perform these functions. Everyone is familiar with many conventional tactics that are used by various representative bodies. Some of these tactics have become so common that they have been characterized by very expressive idioms—for example, "log-rolling," "vested interests," "back-slapping." However, as stated previously, some decision-making must be delegated, and the fact that such a problem faced Squire Winston does not imply that the system of representative government is invalid. It does imply that citizens have as much responsibility for making their opinions known to their representatives as the representatives have for being guided by these opinions in a decision-making situation.

STATUS POSITIONS MAY IMPOSE VARIED CONTROLS ON DECISION-MAKING

Most public or professional positions are granted considerable respect from the public at large. The sources of this respect are not hard to identify. In some instances it doubtless comes from an acknowledgment of the responsibility held by a public official. In other instances it may result from a recognition of some kind of professional achievement. Nevertheless, the status of a person may have varying effects upon decision-making in a township, city, or

county. At times status is admittedly an unintentional barrier between the person possessing it and those with whom he would work. It is not uncommon to see the members of a civic group turn to a doctor, a lawyer, a public school principal or superintendent, or some other professional person for particular advice on some project. In all probability these persons realize that what they say might be too readily accepted as "the answer" or "the solution." In other words, their status would provide a barrier to a free discussion of a particular project.

On the other hand, status can be used deliberately as an instrument of control. For example, a county judge generally has a vast amount of prestige, which can be translated very rapidly into political power. To many county officials, the status of the judge would constitute a very definite instrument of control. Therefore, in deciding any particular issue, the mere suggestion of the judge would carry far more weight than the staunch approbation of any number of other citizens within the county.

Not only do positions of status carry with them extended lines of influence, but also they can affect decision-making in other ways. A man of status will inevitably have a very efficient network of communication at his command. It is often said of such a man that he "keeps his fingers on the pulse of his constituency," because he has channels of communication that bring to him with remarkable rapidity accounts of events that interest or concern him. Moreover, this information is received in confidence and in such a manner that its validity is not questioned. Persons of influence and status likewise very often have unique means of "passing the word around." They have extensive informal networks of communication that rely upon many personal contacts as a means of developing support for an issue or a program. In addition to the informal means of communication, most people who have status can employ other, more elaborate official channels of communication, or various mass media of communication. These official channels of communication not only have to do with the imparting of notices and information concerning decision-making, but also may concern themselves with the formulation of an agenda and other planning procedures.

Thus, the privileges of a person who holds considerable status in the eyes of his compatriots cover an almost limitless vista of public affairs. The possibilities for his exerting influence range from a very subtle use of his status to more obvious procedures, such as the inclusion of his name as an ex-officio member of a committee. A person of status must remain somewhat of an unknown quantity in community decision-making until both his attitude and actions may be assessed in the light of the contributions that he can make to the general welfare. Of course, the only justifiable controls that should be exercised by an official are those controls which he is obligated to impose in the execution of his responsibilities to all of the people. When his status and his privileges are used to influence or control decision-making in view of his personal or vested interests, his status and prestige are being prostituted. In an action situation—such as the courtroom, the council chamber, the office of the tax commissioner, the meeting of the board of education, or the office of the county commissioner of roads—it is difficult to determine to what extent controls of one kind or another are being imposed when decision-making is under way. Nevertheless, the nature of the decision that results often gives a good clue to the motives of the people who did the deciding. The real problem, of course, is anticipating and becoming sensitive to these and other controls and barriers that are continually in the process of conditioning effective decision-making in a community.

DECISIONS POSE THE POSSIBILITY OF CHANGE

Although it is true that an important decision might result in the continuance of the status quo, most decisions usher in a change of one kind or another. Moreover, it is not uncommon to find that people everywhere possess different attitudes toward change. These attitudes range from the extreme of change-for-the-sake-of-change to an outright dread of even the slightest modification in social policy. The very fact that engaging in a decision-making process may mean change presents a definite barrier to some people. If an individual or group has decided that change is not desirable,

then for that individual or group to engage in any process of decision-making is a waste of time. Not only must these attitudes toward change be acknowledged and accounted for within the general framework of decision-making, but the authority for and method of decision-making have much to do with how people accept the changes that occur when a decision is implemented. For example, when a board of education votes for the consolidation of a school, the loss of the present school—which would constitute a definite change in most communities or neighborhoods—is usually accepted with little friction or personal animosity toward the superintendent or board members *if* the people have been kept informed of the possibility of the school's being closed or if the reasons for closing the school are rather obvious (the lack of an adequate school building, for example). To the degree that residents in various communities or neighborhoods do not understand the board of education's motives or authority for closing a school and the reasons justifying such a change, they are usually quick to offer resistance, occasionally violent resistance.

The next time you have an opportunity to hear people talking about decision-making, regardless of whether it is to be conducted by a regular policy-making body or by some informal group, listen carefully for words which express the attitudes of the speaker about possible changes that might result. You might very well hear such statements as these: "The commissioners are going to talk about reassessment in their meetings. You know what that means, don't you?" "The city council will decide on building the viaduct tomorrow night. If they decide in favor of it, the entire Edge Hill section will be open for development." "The aldermen voted not to set up a transportation commission and run busses for the city. That means we'll have to contract with an out-of-town company." Decisions in many ways cast their shadows before them; they imply that changes are to come. Therefore, people attach to the process of decision-making many of the emotional attitudes that they hold toward change itself. These attitudes may or may not constitute serious barriers to the process of decision-making.

HOW DOES A CITIZEN KNOW A GOOD DECISION WHEN HE SEES ONE?

Just about everyone is busy. Most people have to work five, five and a half, or six days a week to earn a living. They like to have a little time for tidying things up around the house and for being sociable with their friends. Yet, barging into this peaceful existence that people have accepted and built into a comfortable routine is the matter of discharging their civic responsibilities. No matter when election day comes, it conflicts with something. To serve on a committee or a commission always displaces something one had rather be doing around the house. To be thrown in the midst of policy-making is to be thrown in the midst of a very complex process. It is a process in which a citizen may become a target himself, just because he insists upon his right to participate. Such a complex situation raises a series of questions in Mr. Joe Citizen's mind. He might well say to himself, "How can I know a good decision when I see one?" "Do I have to live through a decision to know whether it's good or bad?" "Isn't there something I can get hold of that will tell me whether or not something is about to be put over on me?"

The answers to these questions can only be suggested. Furthermore, the statements made here will fall far short of what Mr. Joe Citizen is reaching for. Actually there is no short cut to participation and vigilance in a democratic society. Nevertheless, the following summary statements offer the basic information needed to understand decision-making in cities, counties, and communities everywhere.

A good decision must deal with the real issue that divides the people in any community. If the decision is made on a subsidiary or related issue, the people are still in fact divided, and the central concern of the group is forfeited through carelessness or the selfish designs of an interest group. Such decisions can be at best superficial ones. However, if the real issue is dealt with, the decision that follows is apropos.

It is now virtually a truism to say that all people should have a part in a decision that affects them. In principle this tenet has wide

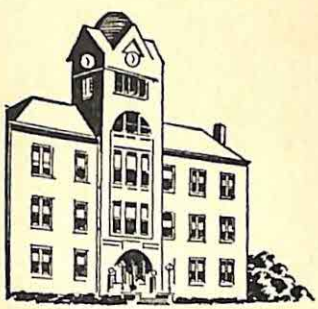
acceptance, and people like to think that it is actually operative. In practice, however, the functions of government are so complex that much responsibility must be delegated and even representation becomes remote. In gross terms, this principle is still fundamental to decision-making in a democratic society. Although representation may suffer abuse in practice, most decisions that do not reflect the will of those people affected by them require revision or amendment of some kind.

Perhaps the greatest defect in community decision-making results from the people's blindness to the methods and procedures by which policies are formulated and important policy decisions are made. The elective process, the quarterly county court, the board of commissioners, the city council, and other decision-making instruments are accepted at face value. If a decision is made by one of these traditional organs, people are inclined to say that it's settled, it's official, it's good, it's the best we can do. It would behoove communities to examine closely what really happens in and around the ballot boxes, in and around the voting precincts, among the magistrates who constitute the quarterly county court, among the county commissioners, and among the city councilmen. It is possible that there will be found both attitudes and actions that are in direct opposition to the spirit of and the provisions for decision-making. The extent to which this gap can be closed represents the extent to which even good decisions can become better ones in communities everywhere.

Another window through which decision-making can be examined is the general character of the decision itself. Does a particular decision represent the consensus of the people or is it a compromise? Consensus connotes agreement in reference to a particular policy or problem. Compromise indicates agreement only at the expense of considerable concessions.

Good decisions are made when persons holding public office and other persons of status have a clear conception of their role in decision-making. Although they may have particular responsibilities in providing for mechanics of decision-making, they should participate in the process on the same basis as all other persons.

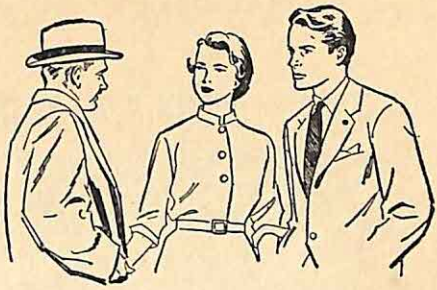
Decision-making has many dimensions. In community life, it is the dynamic interaction of community forces in the formulation of social policy. It engages the personal values and beliefs of individual citizens, it motivates groups to exert pressures, it ultimately determines community aspirations and achievements. A community leader must possess keen insights into this complex milieu. He must have a positive conception of what a community can be in a democratic society. He must understand the role of leadership in such a community and know how this role is related to those of other residents and community institutions.



SECTION FIVE

COMMUNITY AND PROFESSIONAL LEADERSHIP FOR PUBLIC EDUCATION

THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS *reflect a community's educational policy, much of which is a direct product of the local setting. But attitudes, understandings, and aspirations with respect to education do not exist apart from the policies and beliefs that underlie the total behavior of the community. One of the factors that spells out the quality of positive action for community improvement is the extent to which many forces may function as a harmonious whole. Now that the place of schools as an agent for community improvement is generally accepted, the school administrator finds himself faced with new and difficult functions. Guides to his behavior in this setting are important.*



CHAPTER TWELVE

POSITIVE CONCEPTS OF COMMUNITY FUNCTION

IN PREVIOUS CHAPTERS we have examined the behavior and motivation of various reasonably typical citizens. We have also considered why people organize themselves into various kinds of groups. We have looked at formal and informal groups and the different types of roles in which they perform. We have given attention to how community problems are solved, to the procedures and methods that may be involved, and to the import to community life of decisions made. The authors have not tried to do more than present in broad outline form a considerable collection of specifics drawn from many different communities. We have until now largely omitted considering the entire community as a social organism in our effort to understand some of its parts more clearly.

THE WHOLE COMMUNITY IS MORE THAN THE SUM OF ITS PARTS

The life of a community can be described as a series of related behaviors which together reflect to a great degree the spirit, interest, and ability of the people who live in the community. These behaviors can be understood through careful study. One step in such study is to identify and define the various important elements that account for community performance. There are many ways of dividing a community into parts so that each can be studied as a separate entity. But if only the different parts into which a com-

munity can be divided are studied, it is not possible to understand the community itself. Even an inanimate object such as an automobile cannot be understood simply by a study of its various parts. These parts are not an automobile until they are placed in proper relationships to each other. A community is infinitely more difficult to understand than an automobile because it is alive, far more complex, and composed of many, many parts, some of which possess the capacity for self-direction. It is difficult even to recognize all of these parts.

All of us do not see the same things when we look at a community. Perhaps the grocer will see in those new houses in the latest subdivision future customers for his thriving business. The minister may think of potential new members for his church. The insurance man wonders how many of the new citizens will become his clients. Perhaps the school superintendent may hope for enough new pupils to force the local school board to construct the additional school building that he has requested for the past three years. All these people are viewing this addition to their community in terms of their special interests; none see the subdivision for what it really is—an addition to the total life of the community.

A picture of a community colored by one's interest is natural and not within itself bad. Although the real estate dealer may be inclined to see his community primarily as houses, the service he renders is not a one-way street. The farmer may tend to judge his community in terms of the fertility of its soil, but he turns this fertility into productivity for the benefit of others as well as himself. The newspaper editor views 5,000 new home owners as so many potential customers for his product. These home owners, in turn, may need the contribution the newspaper can make to their citizenship and well-being.

A citizen who takes a closer look at his community in order to see it as a whole need not discount the importance of such individual outlooks as those sketched above; in fact, he will want to understand as many of them as possible. He will want to see how they, along with many others, contribute to an understanding of the total community. Only this approach will enable him to begin to see

a much broader significance in the specific community elements around him. People, buildings, businesses, homes, organizations, and institutions are obviously important parts of the whole community. Together they are an expression of experiences people have had in their efforts to achieve their goals. A public-spirited citizen who looks at his community in this way, therefore, is moving toward a clearer recognition of the many factors that go into the makeup of the whole community. He will ultimately attain a better understanding of how these factors are related to each other and how together they form a unified, cohesive, and effective social group.

One can easily see that, although the community is made up of many individual citizens, its functions in society go beyond those of an individual citizen. In a very real sense the community is composed of a group of individual citizens who can best achieve their personal and commonly sought aims through the use of social processes. These processes bring into being interest groups, groups in which the individual adds weight to his efforts by teaming up with others. Such organization does not destroy individuality but strengthens it.

Personalities of residents, their values and beliefs, their social organizations, the community's natural resources, its potential economic development, its local tradition, and other elements that go to make up community life serve purposes beyond their mere additive values. Together they achieve a destiny of far greater significance than would be possible except for the interaction they bring about. It is, therefore, possible to appraise the various community elements by evaluating their contribution to the general welfare. In this sense, usefulness is not limited exclusively to intrinsic value of the part itself—an organization, for example, has no intrinsic worth.

The existence of intangible forces, other than those already mentioned, must also be taken into account. Habitual practice and tradition are examples of these forces. Such intangibles are conditioners of group and individual behavior; they help explain how particular decisions are made. Real understanding of the whole

community is not possible except to the citizen who sees its various tangible and intangible parts in their proper relationship to one another.

What has been said suggests that a community must be observed in action if it is to be seen as it really is, rather than as the static picture one derives from a mere analysis of its separate elements. What you see in the study of the social behavior around you may or may not demonstrate the harmonious and productive interrelationships that bring about a desirable level of community behavior. Conflicts may exist but some level of harmony is essential, or else there can be no community.

In Clarendon, the town described in Chapter 10 that arrived at decisions through conflict and compromise, one would expect to find a long-standing struggle between the board of education and the city council and this was the case. The board consistently submitted higher budgets than the council was willing to approve. The interaction of these conflicting forces produced a community policy toward education that reflected the point of view of neither. The low level of interaction in Clarendon was harmful; the community suffered from its failure to achieve a unity of power in pursuit of a common interest.

But there was something that held these warring factions to the necessity of a common agreement. What is it that enables the various groups in a community to stick together even on a very low level of productivity? Some people say it is the value system that underlies the various patterns of community behavior. Since all behavior has its origins in a set of beliefs, understandings, and aspirations, groups within the setting of a local community seldom have completely conflicting guides to their behavior. It is the guides that are not in conflict that enable the various segments of a community to function as a unit. These are among the more difficult aspects of community life to see and understand, as one strives to see clearly one's community in action. The picture is a mural rather than a mosaic. Discreteness of community elements is really a fiction, useful only as a convenience for purposes of study.

It is very difficult to define a community so that the character

of its life is clear. A community may be defined in terms of geographical area; in terms of institutions and organizations within this area; in terms of existing attitudes, values, beliefs, goals, and ambitions; in terms of economic development and sources of wealth; as a unit of local government—it is clear, however, that none of these definitions alone is adequate. They are also inadequate when taken together, since a community is the result of the interaction of these elements, and represents man's efforts to achieve his individual destiny through productive relationships with his fellow man.

Perhaps the foregoing does not stress sufficiently the infinite variations which exist among communities. A citizen who would understand his own community would make a mistake to take it for granted that he does so already, because he thinks he has understood some other community. Each community has its own personality, each has its set of conditions that distinguish it from any other, consequently each has to be studied as a community before it can be understood.

Differences and similarities among community leaders may be observed with little difficulty. Every community does not have a Judge Overholt, the vivid prototype discussed in Chapter 1. There are not enough Newell Thompsons to go around either. But there is someone who plays the role of a Judge Overholt, a man who is respected and esteemed by many people, whose judgment is sought, and whose opinions carry a lot of weight. There is also usually someone like Newell Thompson, a spokesman for economic development and community progress. The conservative and somewhat liberal points of view represented by these two men are found in almost every community and frequently bring about severe struggles for power.

Public schools, churches, civic clubs, government and its services, and many other agencies, institutions, and organizations are other common denominators of most communities. The nature of each varies from one community to another. Certainly no two school faculties are the same; they are made up of different teachers. The Lion's Club in one community and the Lion's Club in another

community sponsor about an equal number of worth-while community projects. They have about the same number of members. They laugh and kid each other in much the same way. Anyone visiting the two clubs, however, would readily recognize that they are not alike because of other more intangible characteristics.

The nine grocery stores in one community and the six groceries in a town 12 miles away perform for their respective citizens the same services in the same ways. This does not make the stores alike. Both towns have physicians. Some of them completed their studies at the same medical school. All of them prescribe the same kinds of medicines for similar ills. Each has a pleasant bedside manner, and the fees they charge are about the same. Each, however, has his own distinctive and unique ways of treating people and reacting to them.

An important intangible community factor is morale. Community morale or the lack of it is a strong influence on community growth and development. High morale is a great asset, and a lack of morale is a handicap that is sometimes very difficult to overcome. Pride is an indication of high morale. The source of pride is often the successful achievement of some objective.

Numerous other common denominators of communities exist. Among them are wealth, income, number and kind of professional

persons, proportion of skilled and unskilled labor, tradesmen, craftsmen, college graduates, high school graduates, and the median educational achievement. Still others are general health level, juvenile problems, and welfare needs.

Within each of these common elements is a wide range of differences. For example, most wage earners may be skilled workers in one community, whereas in another the majority may be unskilled. These common denominators do not destroy the individuality of communities. Infinite differences of many kinds result from combinations of the variables that make up communities. However, communities may be classified by type, such as the retail trade center, the manufacturing center, and the residential center for the nearby metropolitan area. Each type may be further classified. For example, even manufacturing towns are very unlike, depending upon the quality of management, the quality of employees, and the kinds of goods they produce. In some manufacturing towns slum areas figure prominently; others have no such blighting social and economic problem.

Seeing the whole community is a fascinating adventure. It is comparatively simple to identify and describe its parts. No difficulty need be encountered in recognizing that the parts are not isolated, and that their qualities are not merely additive. Understanding the intangible factors that bring the various elements into harmonious and productive relationships is much more difficult. Since there are no two communities exactly alike, each can be understood only after a special study of its own characteristics.

SOME COMMUNITY FACTORS ARE MORE IMPORTANT THAN OTHERS

The competent observer readily sees that no great insight is needed in order to discriminate among the many elements of community life so that those of more critical importance stand out. As has been shown, constants among such factors are only in kind rather than in degree and quality. In addition to people, obviously certain other components of community life are always present. Five of these are now discussed briefly. They are: natural resources, structure, process and method, state of mind, and interdependence.

Nature's endowment and man's use of it are of primary significance. Most natural resources are of little intrinsic value. They become valuable only after they have been transformed by man's

ingenuity and energy. What is done with natural wealth depends upon many things—the willingness of people to work, their skill and know-how, their motivation, their drive, their capacity to organize, and so forth. Land denuded of topsoil by erosion is a common sight in many states. The abandoned farm lands and homes that have traditionally been a part of this cycle attest to the folly of those who sought their destiny where these conditions prevailed. Occasionally an oasis is found in the midst of such desolation. Somebody has been intelligent and energetic enough either to rebuild the soil or to prevent it from washing away. Intelligent use of the soil is essential to its sustained productivity. Perhaps no better evidence exists of man's ability to escape determinism than his success in the conservation of soil.

Many choices exist as to how resources are to be used. Two communities of equal natural wealth may prosper in very different ways and degrees. The stopgap and shortsighted policies of day-to-day existence create a standard of living much less desirable than the standard created by people who, through the best use of their intelligence, get the maximum benefit from the resources at their disposal. This is proved by the fact that there is little or no correlation between the richest areas in the world, as measured by natural resources, and the wealthiest civilizations. The quality of decisions which determine how well resources are used is, therefore, of great consequence. Who makes these decisions and through what means they are made are important.

Structure serves a critical need. In all societies certain relationships that have been found to be essential are provided for by fixed arrangements. Provisions for the election of public officials, the designation of an official tax gatherer, a court of justice, the grand jury, the public health department, and public schools are examples. Whenever a service or function becomes important enough to justify public support, it usually is given recognition by creating a plan, organization, or structure through which the service can be rendered. Such provisions help in the orderly, economical execution of affairs of public import. Local, state, and national governments are dedicated to these functions. Much structure, therefore, has a legal basis.

Voluntary organizations that do not have the force of law back of them are also important elements of community structure. A third level of structure comes into being when people of similar interests associate themselves with each other informally in order to achieve their goals. These less formal elements of structure serve a wide variety of purposes, ranging from merely providing recreational opportunities to establishing a periodic informal caucus where important issues may be settled.

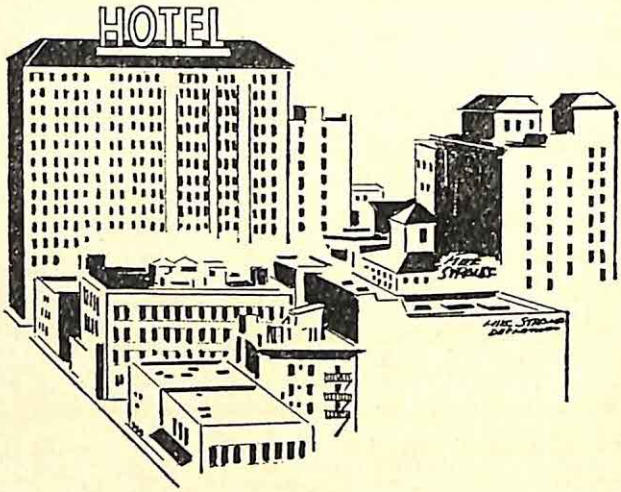
We have used the words *structure* and *organization* without attempting to differentiate between them. Although they are very similar in meaning, *structure* refers to the formalized procedural arrangements that make possible the ready transaction of business; *organization* refers to the personnel and the particular designations of responsibility that are essential if the structure is to serve its purpose.

Structure and organization provide the channels through which the life of a community flows. They may be, therefore, of considerable influence in determining how well a community makes its decisions. These arrangements for facilitating community action are subject to extensive local control. The effectiveness of such arrangements in assuring wise decisions depends on both the type of structure and how it is used in the community.

Process and method make structure effective. As may be inferred from the above, structure has no dynamic of its own and is largely useless except for the processes it makes possible. What do we mean by process? Many people do not understand it, or are contemptuous of it. They are likely to say, "Well, let's go ahead and get something done," not realizing that nothing is done except through some kind of process. Process puts life in inanimate structure. It is a way of doing things.

Process does not have the rigidity of structure. There may be seven members of the city commission. Their duties are likely to be rather specifically defined. How the council is to function may also be defined. The definition, however, will be in terms of form rather than spirit. In reality the council has an infinite variety of choices concerning process within the limitations imposed upon it by statute and custom. For example, the council may feel com-

pelled, by custom, to hold public meetings from time to time. The processes by which this compulsion is expressed in the way people



are received and treated may range from a condescending authoritarian reception to one of warm-hearted friendliness and obvious acceptance. The structure is the same, but the processes are quite different.

Judge William C. Overholt, Newell Thompson, Farley Brown, and many of the other prototypes previously referred to who have held official positions within the structure of their respective communities used widely divergent processes as they went about performing their roles. Judge Overholt's chief process was paternalism. The processes exercised by Newell Thompson were those of a promoter as he went about his duties as a member of the Crisfield City Council. Farley Brown acted fundamentally in terms of expediency—he did what he thought would keep him in office. The processes employed by Farley only incidentally reflected the wishes of the people and made a shallow pretense of his campaign claims. Thus, process is vastly different from structure. It is more flexible and more varied, even within the limits of the legal structure of the community.

A local Better Business Bureau is a part of the voluntary struc-

ture of a community. In most communities it represents successful business interests, with most of its members no longer young men. At least, this was the situation in Evenstown, a town very like the conservative Springbrook community referred to in Chapter 1. The Better Business Bureau in Evenstown had long ago lost any tendency toward liberalism in fiscal policies. Recently the board of directors in executive session decided to oppose the application of the Speedway Motor Transport Company to the city council for a local franchise, although this company was a fast-growing concern with a record of safety and dependability. According to recommendations made by the board of directors, the local transportation needs were being adequately taken care of by existing facilities, which, incidentally, were under the control of a member of the board. The processes used in this example were such as to deny the critical examination of the issue and to keep the matter in the hands of a small group, a group that by no means represented the membership of the Better Business Bureau, much less the total community. Whether or not the decision reached would have an impact on the whole community was of no concern to the board. The truth was that local selfish interests had simply used processes whereby an existing voluntary structure could be made the means for protecting those interests.

The processes through which structure is made vital and active may stifle the community and freeze up the expression of its ability, keeping it in a latent state. On the other hand, such processes may make possible the development and expression of the best of the community's ideas and attitudes. Process cannot be static because it is so intimately associated with the basic regard people have for each other, and to their understandings of orderly human behavior. It is more readily amenable to control than many other important factors in community life.

State of mind is important. Communities, like their individual citizens, have personalities, dispositions, and a general state of health. Perhaps intangible and nonobjective factors are as important to community well-being as they are to personal well-being. Frequently, how one feels is a product of one's mind. Either an

optimistic or a pessimistic attitude can be self-generated to a considerable degree. This is also true of communities.

The reader may recall that Lawrenceville is a community that believes in itself and that neighboring communities said, "Lawrenceville can do what it wants to do." Some put it like this: "Those people really know how to pull together. They know what they want and are willing to work for it." Clarendon, on the other hand, has never won any contest. Its reputation is one of strife and competition among its members. Nothing seems to unify the people.

Other communities may possess characteristics that reveal still different states of mind. There is the community that demonstrates no independence. It is submissive; it simply accepts whatever comes its way and makes no effort to shape its destiny. Maybe it simply lacks some unifying element. It could be leadership. Another community may appear indifferent to its own fate. Its young people may traditionally go elsewhere to make their way in the world, as they did in Tuscombe County, which was described earlier. Such a community may possess diverse and obscure value patterns. This is the kind of community where people are likely to say, "There isn't much here for our children. It would be better if they seek their careers elsewhere." Then there is the arrogant community, which sets the rules for its own relationships with others. Its athletic teams are sure of winning and boast about every victory. When they lose, they always have excuses.

The importance of a community's state of mind can hardly be underestimated. Whether or not the greenest grass is at one's feet or across some distant valley may depend to a considerable extent on one's state of mind. Lack of confidence in the future, or unwillingness to be realistic about the future, may create a state of mass mind that lies like a depressive mantle over the entire community. On the contrary, a feeling of exhilaration and enthusiasm may serve as a stimulant to desirable improvement. Made up as they are of individual citizens, communities are not likely to achieve more than these citizens expect.

What makes up a community's state of mind? Not wealth, be-

cause there is no way to predict from a community's wealth what its state of mind will be. It is not how well educated the people are, either, for some of the more depressing communities are those with an educated citizenry that apparently is not interested in doing anything. Size is not an important factor. The exact ingredients that make up a state of mind for a community are not known.

State of mind is undoubtedly made up of many intangible factors. One, certainly, is a sense of achievement. Another may be the confidence people have in each other. Still another may be the existence of satisfying channels through which people understand each other and work toward common interests. Whatever these factors are, they appear to be subject to some control; if they were not, community morale would be more closely related to measurable objective factors, such as wealth.

Interdependence is inescapable. The statement that interdependence is inevitable is axiomatic. The only choice a person has, short of becoming a hermit, concerns the degree and quality of his dependence upon others. New requirements of interdependence are constantly placed upon people by the changing nature of the civilization of which we are a part. Interdependence within communities has been studied and discussed to such a degree that it needs little elaboration here. Much material presented previously bears on this aspect of society, showing how the patterns and conditions of interdependence change sharply from time to time.

Although international interdependence is a more critical problem today, concern among and within our communities for interdependence on a community level cannot be overlooked. It may be important for people to look again at the extent to which they must depend upon others for their own welfare. As time passes, the threads of interdependence become increasingly complex and are extended further and further.

Tens of thousands of different occupations created by man are proof of the extent to which the satisfaction of his needs and wants has become the object of specialization. The restless mind of man is always dreaming up new ideas and creating new devices that bring into existence additional wants, wants which, if they are to

be satisfied, require new occupations and new groups. These new wants add further to the complexity of society and to its interdependence. This ceaseless flow of achievement, spawned by new ideas and new inventions, is one of the most powerful drives for social action.

Even the satisfaction of the primary needs of man—food, clothing, and shelter—is now a very complicated process in every community. The corner grocery store, although a local institution, is also an international one because it reaches to all parts of the world in order to bring to its customers the goods they want and need. The local hospital is an institution infinitely more complex in its interdependent relationships, particularly those it must maintain with distant and larger communities. The sources of professional training for the medical staff are but one example. A more dramatic one is the medical research that goes on in many parts of the world, the results of which are reflected in the work going on in the local hospitals. A third example is the nature and locations of the various enterprises that produce and distribute medicines and laboratory equipment. Clearly, the very existence of a hospital is dependent upon a far-flung and complicated network of interdependent relationships.

The local library is a community institution that is completely dependent upon the outside world, except for such books as may have been written or published by authors who live in the community. The library simply serves as an agent to bring to interested persons books from the pens of authors everywhere, as well as those which represent the contributions of other generations.

Interdependence in economic life is well recognized and understood to some extent by most people. Other kinds of interdependence are not so well understood, nor are they valued so highly.

Public schools, for example, seem to be the best solution to the problem of providing an education, from the standpoint of both cost and quality. Public schools are regulated by public policy; in the formation of this policy everyone cannot have his complete way unless each parent were to employ his own teacher, a manifest impossibility for economic reasons. So, since freedom of choice is a futile gesture unless it can be exercised, only through community action is it possible to satisfy the need for education.

Similarly, few families would be able to provide a church just for themselves, and those who are able to do so would find scant satisfaction in the practice of religion formally in such an isolated setting. Clearly, the fulfillment of one's wants is dependent upon one's relationships with others.

The dependence upon others for achieving one's own destiny considered alone is a selfish and antisocial doctrine. The normal person wants to help others as well as to be helped by others. Thus, interdependence has its responsibilities and its challenges—one must serve others as others serve him. In no other way is it possible to have a satisfactory civilization based on the ideals that are cherished in America.

Interdependence is not a restriction of individual freedom. A man who had to solve all his problems with his own hands would theoretically have freedom of choice, but practically he would be so busy staying alive that few choices would actually be available to him. Freedom defines the limit of achievement, but the real meaning of freedom lies in the extent to which a person can reach these limits. At the proper level of interdependence each person does those things which he is uniquely capable and desirous of doing, while others create for him those products that he cannot fashion for himself. Viewed in this sense, the delicate balance of what is good for the individual and what is good for society disappears, for their ends are the same.

SELF-DIRECTION IS POSSIBLE

To say that communities are in a state of constant change is but to repeat a truism. People, natural resources, structure, process

and method, state of mind, interdependence, and other factors create the direction and character of change.

Lawrenceville, described in Chapter 1, charted its own direction. Working together to decide upon a common purpose was the first step. The initial experience of the Lawrenceville citizens was so satisfactory that they began to define other problems that could be resolved only by cooperative effort. From this point on it seemed relatively easy to find ways to solve these problems satisfactorily.

Such dramatic changes as these may not happen to every community. Sharp changes, if they were to occur, might even result in the rapid decline of a community, but some processes of change are always at work in every community. The nature and tempo of the change are not the same for all communities. The establishment of a new business, the bankruptcy of an old business, the employment of 50 additional hands, and the firing of a dozen employees are all marks of the ebb and flow of the economic life of a community, marks that have an important bearing on where the community is going. Every time a family leaves a community and every time a new family moves in, some change is set in motion. A new idea put to work, a shift in the control of power, and a change of heart by a strong leader are examples of causes of community change. As the population grows older, the people may have different attitudes and points of view. The departure of young people to other areas is another important element of change. The depletion of natural resources usually profoundly affects a community. In like manner, the development of resources to take the place of those which have been exhausted is a mark of important change.

Since every element of community life is itself a variable, the community can never stand still. At times it may seem to do so, but unobserved factors are always at work altering its basic characteristics. Moreover, since no community is wholly self-contained, it is necessary to consider forces from without whose impact may seriously influence the direction and speed of change within the community. Some changes originate on state, national, and inter-

national levels. The profound changes in the local community that can be brought about by war need no comment. Business trends, good and bad, fall on all communities. Serious depressions are perhaps more prominently remembered than the years of prosperity that have inevitably followed them. Public policy as reflected by state and national governments is also important in considering the array of forces from without.

Are all the forces that cause a community to change to be accepted as they come? Are they subject to control? If so, what are some of the possibilities of control and how do they originate?

One of the great challenges offered the individual citizen by the American civilization is an opportunity for self-direction, to be exercised within limits set by our experience and our ideals. Self-direction is not forced on the citizen, although it is expected of him. His choices run from the mere acceptance of whatever fate befalls him to the fullest use of his abilities and the assistance of others in charting his own course. In a real sense, a community has the same freedom for self-direction. Its capacity to exercise this freedom effectively is, like that of the individual citizen, quite another matter. The degree to which this power is exercised varies tremendously from community to community, as it does among individuals. In general, communities have given relatively little thought to the problem of self-direction. At least, attention to this problem has rarely taken the form of a total community enterprise. From time to time strong groups may make decisions on community direction that affect in a very important manner where the community goes.

So, a community is neither a hodge-podge of unrelated activity nor an unordered panorama of life. Its variety of behaviors, its forces at work, and its decisions add up to the community's going somewhere. This composite of action has some kind of rhyme and reason. Behavior and conduct take place within certain limits, although some of these limits sometimes baffle definition.

Even though forces may be in conflict, they influence what happens in the community. When forces team up in a common enterprise, their strength is greatly increased. New forces, origi-

nating in new wants and new desires, come into being, sometimes taking the place of others or competing with them. The interplay of these drives somehow totals up to a community's expression of itself. Perhaps value systems are the fundamental sources from which the various behaviors are generated. No uniformity of value systems is to be expected, but common elements may add up to a set of beliefs to which all individual citizens and groups will subscribe. These give stability to the community. They are the balance wheel. They temper creative drives so that they do not get out of hand. Although it may seem that no conscious effort is made to define directions, the currents of everyday life constantly renew and strengthen the drives to community action. Decisions are the essence of direction.

As illustrated in Chapters Nine and Ten, thousands of decisions are made daily in every community. Some of them are important for many people. Hardly any are made that do not affect persons other than those immediately involved. What these decisions are made about determines, in part, their import. Those affecting the fewest themselves vary in significance. Those that affect many likewise vary in accordance with the importance of the decision, the nature of the decision, and the ways by which it is put into effect. How they are made is, of course, extremely important, for this is one of the ways to determine their impact.

The entire range of community behavior and the multitude of decisions it involves make up community policy. Such policy is rarely stated or even consciously arrived at. It is composed of many parts and is frequently internally inconsistent. If it were stated, it would probably not be something to which all would agree. Community policy is inescapable and is developed irrespective of over-all community-wide efforts. As is obvious to all, many unexpected things happen to people, things they have not consciously planned for and about which they are aware of making no decisions. Communities, likewise, are under the influence of forces that are frequently not clearly understood and that are rarely ever studied in terms of their real import. Some people are more aware of these things than others, and some have a great deal more to say about what is happening to them. This is also true of communities.

Most people respect a person who can make decisions; in America, a man's ability to make decisions is regarded as a sign of his independence. Perhaps the time will come when this particular value will be equally respected when it is exercised by communities. Good community decision-making expresses in the highest sense the power of common intelligence in the interest of the welfare of individuals. Hardly a finer sign of social maturity could be achieved.

A CATALYST IS NEEDED

As already stated, some degree of community direction is reached in some way. It may be by chance, by inertia, by caprice, or it may be systematically and intelligently planned. It is usually a combination of these factors. There is some degree of positive action, some initiative, in all communities. But initiative is expressed much more forcibly in some communities than in others.

We have looked already at some of the essentials of a community. We have made much of the concept that a citizen is at his best when he cooperates with all pertinent forces in common undertakings for what he conceives to be the good of the community. We have said that it is the interplay of the various individual elements in the community that creates and controls community life.

This interplay takes place at all times because it is the essence of society. It is, however, subject to definition and control. Inertia cannot stop it altogether; chance cannot alter its basic directions. These directions emerge somehow, even from conflict (indeed, conflict may not be without its creative values if it is not restricted to destructive levels). Direction is a matter of degree. Since behavior cannot be neutralized and is the expression of life itself, it produces a momentum that carries people somewhere.

The direction in which a community orders its affairs and the actual processes through which these affairs are ordered require the functioning of still another component—leadership. What are its functions in the community? How does it come about? Who exercises it? And how may it be exercised? Is it really a catalyst? This essential source of community power is considered in the next chapter.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

LEADERSHIP CHANGES COMMUNITIES

THE EXTENT to which various interest groups in a community are successful in achieving their objectives is dependent in a large measure on the available leadership and how it functions. Whether the components of a community relate themselves to each other in a way that is to the advantage of all is primarily a matter of the available leadership and its impact. The affairs of a community have to be conducted, and they cannot be conducted except in terms of some quality and degree of direction and in accordance with the judgments of people.

Leadership is a relationship among individuals or among groups in which some people's attitudes and judgments carry greater weight than other people's. Some people just naturally tend to call the signals for others; it is hard to conceive, for example, of a group or a community without its key citizens. The functions leaders perform are invaluable; no substitute is known to exist for their services. Let us take a look at some of these services.

THE FUNCTIONS OF LEADERSHIP

By definition leadership implies *initiative*. Initiative can be observed wherever people come together. In any discussion some person or persons will soon stand out. They may stand out by simply assuming a more important part in a discussion. Their prominence may only consist in saying first what everybody else

is thinking. Observe any group of workmen. It will not be hard to identify one to whom others turn when questions arise or when someone is needed to show the way. This workman, moreover, need not be the person officially in charge of the group. *Initiative as a function of leadership is useful in many ways.* It overcomes inertia, it breaks a stalemate, it pushes forward and moves others to action.

What people do is directed toward some objective; therefore setting or *contributing to the setting of objectives is an important function of leadership.* Objectives may be determined in a variety of ways. They may be defined by one person or a small group and imposed on the entire community, or they may be arrived at as a result of study and definition by those who are concerned with them. Objectives, however defined, are the result of aspirations. The term *aspiration* itself connotes something to be sought. What one seeks is determined by needs that one feels should be satisfied. When needs are in conflict with each other, which happens frequently, it is necessary to decide which is more important.

Intelligent determination of objectives requires a *realistic appraisal of existing conditions.* Are the ends being sought currently more important than others that may be contemplated? To what degree have those aims being sought been adequately achieved?

When a group has decided that certain aims are acceptable, its leaders have the *function of seeing that plans are made for achieving those aims.* A course of action is projected. A way of bridging the gap between present and projected achievements is thrown up. A group whose goals are important enough to be defined should have sufficient interest and energy to produce a necessary plan of action. If such interest and energy are lacking, then the goals are not very important. Many important enterprises break down simply because insufficient attention has been given to determining the most satisfactory way of achieving the goal sought. Leaders have the responsibility for seeing that this does not happen.

The logical functioning of leadership requires next the *definition of resources that are needed to carry out plans of action agreed upon.* In no other way is an adequate understanding of what is necessary to do the job possible.

Obviously all resources that may be desired are not always available, even if the community or group should have the means for securing additional resources beyond those available locally. Therefore, *leaders must locate and arrange for the use of resources* that can be procured. Those found in the local community should be taken into account first. When these have been checked against the list of essential resources for doing the job, the leader will then know what aid from outside the community should be secured. What is needed and what can be secured may be two different things.

When a leader has lined up the resources, he must *arrange them in such a way as to facilitate their best use.* He must organize them in terms of the plan to be executed. He must designate responsibilities for particular aspects of the job. When he has done this, the resources can be applied to the achievement of the group's objectives.

The best deployment of resources requires a knowledge of both the nature of the task to be performed and the capacities of the particular resources that are to be employed. If personnel is considered a resource, interest becomes an additional factor. If personnel is not involved, there are still different ways of using inanimate resources. A poor knowledge of these two factors can easily result in a partial dissipation of the available potentials for arriving at a goal.

The evaluation of progress and the ultimate appraisal of success in achieving a goal are indispensable functions of any going concern. Such appraisals are the responsibility of leaders. Re-definition of aims may be one product. A change of plans may be another result. A more appropriate use of available resources may be a third result. The final phase of evaluation is the determination of new goals at appropriate times. Since a community cannot maintain a standstill position, change in the direction of improvement or in the direction of decline in the community's role and usefulness is the only choice open to it. In a community in a state of decline, the essential functions will be moved elsewhere and the concept of expanding social life will not be contradicted.

A function of leadership is to provide stability. Orderly and desirable change proceeds on the basis of continued allegiance to things that have proved of value in the past. Without this mark of stability, communities might be subject to sharp reversals of direction and conflicts that would dissipate the potential for continued improvement. The nature of leadership is such that it derives its wellsprings of power from dedication to those values which have stood the test of experience and which, therefore, serve as the best guides to new undertakings.

The somewhat idealistic projection and discussion of functions above may seem to remove leadership from the realities of community affairs to a highly theoretical level, a level no community has been able to achieve. The discussion is admittedly based on an assumed set of conditions toward which any community might wish to work. The picture drawn is not one of how any community presently conducts its business. For one thing, the degree of uniformity implied in the community with respect to aspirations, goals, means, and resources is scarcely to be found. In the second place, even in a single undertaking that reflects the interest of only a very limited part of the community, the processes described above are rarely so consciously carried out or so intelligently planned for.

However, in any community, leaders decide what to do on the basis of value judgments. The directions their decisions take are both a result and a cause of the interplay of many specific directions that somehow or other add up to a general policy of the community.

Leadership, therefore, does get things done, whether or not they are done in the best way possible. It does result in action of some sort, even though the action may be simply to prevent something else from happening.

THERE ARE MANY SOURCES OF LEADERSHIP

Leadership is not a theoretical quality that exists apart from people. It is of people and by people. It is a quality by which one person may be distinguished from another. But it is not the absence or presence of leadership as such that is of concern to us at this point;

it is the sources and nature of leadership and the kinds of influence it exerts. Let us examine some of the usual sources of leadership that are found in a typical community.

The local physician is a leader. He possesses knowledge that is necessary for the highest welfare of the community. What he knows and can do helps people maintain their health and efficiency. The lawyer possesses another body of information that is essential to the well-being of the community. His information helps people to define their rights and to protect themselves from unjust exploitation. People seek his assistance in many affairs of life. The doctor and the lawyer and other important persons provide an essential type of leadership because they have useful *knowledge and skill that others do not possess.*

Other people are leaders because they are in *control of essential services* of another kind. Business requires credit. The new drive-in theater costs a lot of money. Everybody knows that the enterprising young businessman who had the theater built did not have the necessary funds. He had to depend on credit. Had he been unable to secure it, the theater would not have been built. Whether or not he was able to secure it was dependent upon persons who had in their power the authority to deny him his request. This authority could have been exercised independently of whether or not he turned out to be a good risk.

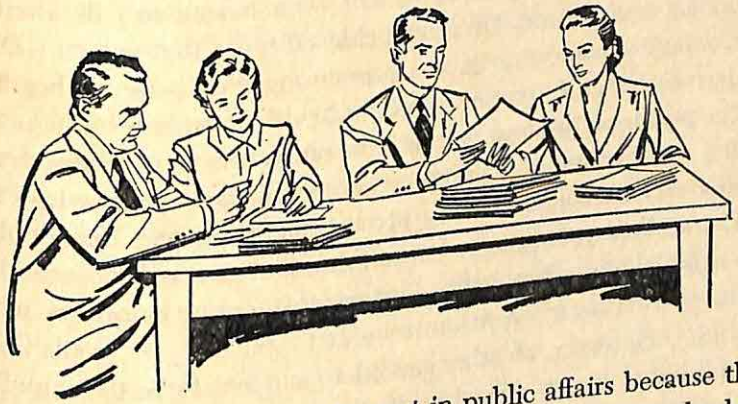
Reverses in business have made it impossible for young Bill Shaffer to maintain payment on the lavish home he built in the flush of his initial success in the business world. It is in the power of the local banker to give him another chance or foreclose immediately. Control of the fiscal policies of a community, public and private, is one of the most powerful of all sources of leadership. It need not depend upon the possession of any other quality whatsoever.

Superior intelligence is a source of leadership. Judge Overholt, mentioned earlier, is a very intelligent man. His ideas come freely and strike others as being more reasonable than those of most other citizens in the community. The quality of intelligence is not the same in all people, nor is it used efficiently by all. People respect

those whose capacity to reason is superior to their own. Intelligence is a quality which, perhaps more than any other, influences the best community development. Jim Thomas has never done very much to achieve success for himself. In many respects he is somewhat indolent. Yet he is sharp, he keeps up with things, and he has ideas. People seek his opinions and advice because he thinks faster and better than they do.

A person's *personality* may influence to a great degree his capacity for leadership. Some people are followed because of personal qualities that draw others to them. They may be big, fine-looking men who have warmth and friendliness, a capacity to tell a good story, the knack of remembering names. Many holders of public office tend to be of this type. Fluent talkers, people who are entertaining, and those who make others feel important easily win support for both their own ideas and those they have accepted from others.

Another important personal quality is *energy and drive.* Many leaders possess a great amount of vitality. Often they work harder and longer than less influential people, and their energy expresses itself in a drive toward some definite goal. These leaders are the ones who are most likely to spark a new movement. They are the



ones who are sought out to take part in public affairs because they can and do get things done, frequently through enlisting the help of others.

Some jobs are more important than others, and not necessarily

because they involve the performance of more important services. It may be the status of a position rather than service rendered through it that makes people ascribe more importance to it than to another position. On the other hand, the importance of a position may be due to the number of people affected by what is done in the position, or the abilities required of the person who holds the position.

A certain degree of leadership is accorded the holder of some positions simply because of the *position itself* rather than because of the ability of its holder. Certainly important leadership functions are ascribed to the minister, irrespective of his real abilities. In some communities, holding public office is a mark of considerable respect. One does not have to merit the office in order to have the prestige that goes with it. A leader may even prostitute the functions of the office to his own selfish interests and still maintain a following. If he uses the office as an opportunity to be useful to the community, his leadership may be immeasurably enhanced. The banker, for example, is generally respected somewhat independently of his real leadership abilities. The judge is another official who is almost universally accorded a position of leadership, whether or not his ability warrants it.

Some families carry more weight than others, usually because members of those families have achieved more than others. Ordinarily family leadership in the community goes back further than one generation. Important positions held by members of the family in the past usually place present-generation members in a preferred status. For example, a young attorney only four years out of law school may be elected county prosecuting attorney. He doubtless is an excellent young man, but nothing in his record indicates that he is any better than half a dozen other young attorneys in the county. Moreover, there are seasoned, able lawyers available for the job. However, no other candidate happens to be the son of the circuit judge, a man who through the years has built the influential friendships that made it relatively simple for his son to be elected prosecuting attorney. The young man will not necessarily be a great attorney because of his father, but he gets his chance because

of his father—a chance denied many others who might be equally or more successful.

The Craft brothers are good citizens. Each may be depended upon to support worthy charities. Both will accept responsibility in the community for community betterment, they appear to be of about equal ability, and their success in an economic sense is parallel. However, the younger brother is a lot more successful as a leader. *People feel that he has a genuine interest in their problems and welfare.* It isn't that the elder brother may not have similar feelings; but if he does, those about him do not sense them in the same way. Young Craft will frequently spend hours listening to a man detail his difficulties and trying to help him see through his dilemmas. The older brother is too busy for this sort of thing. He may realize the importance of such behavior in establishing a man as a leader. But he is not inclined to behave in this manner.

Another source of leadership is *motivation.* Two men may be well matched in the qualities of leadership they possess except for motivation. As a consequence, the quality and character of their usefulness may be poles apart. The ends toward which a man directs his influence and power will determine whether he is a selfish man bent only on furthering his personal ambition or whether his abilities are used for more acceptable social purposes. The strength of a person's motivation is next in importance to its character. The strength of a leader's concern over a problem will be reflected in the amount and intensity of effort he is willing to expend in seeking a solution to the problem.

When Reverend Young broke up a teen-age dice game that he accidentally came upon as he was taking a short cut to the post office, he was stamped as a man with very *definite principles on which he would take a stand.* The community responded quite well to his handling of this incident, and Reverend Young soon found himself in a position of leadership that he could never have attained through merely talking about gambling. His principles and a real situation motivated him to an action that the community defined as wholesome and in accordance with its interest.

Independent of a person's ability or motives or intelligence, the *services he renders* are an important source of leadership. Service, of course, requires some sort of ability, but it is clear that a man's ability does not necessarily indicate the nature or quality of service he may render to a community. In the final analysis the physician is respected for making people well. The grocery man is accorded a place of respect and a type of leadership because he is slow to withhold credit from people who really need it when they are down on their luck.

A *sense of obligation* that usually accompanies a favor granted or an unusual service rendered is a source of leadership. It is not necessary to go about callously doing favors for others in order to create in them a sense of obligation, although such behavior does produce a kind of leadership status. Effectively looking after one's own affairs and at the same time being helpful to others is a sure-fire formula for attaining some leadership status.

One source of leadership that is recognized less frequently than some others is *skill in the art of human relationships.* It has been demonstrated many times that the sciences of behavior are beginning to build a field of important knowledge. Everyone has observed that some persons understand people a lot better than others and never seem to have any trouble in their relations with them, whereas others are always at odds with their fellow men.

Even though the personal qualities described above and the intangible factor of motivation are crucial, there is a body of skill and understanding that goes beyond these in paving the way for working with people in the most satisfying fashion. Understanding others is one phase of this body of knowledge. A man may be well received and accorded an excellent position of leadership without even knowing why he is so treated. This may be because he exercises a kind of natural skill in human relations, a skill that promotes and builds productive relations with others. The fact that such skills can be learned and that much is known about them simply means that human behavior may be controlled in ways not hitherto understood. Perhaps the best example of such control is the use of mass propaganda methods for instilling preconceived beliefs. A

person who has skills of this kind should carefully appraise his own motivations, and others should appraise them also.

A discussion of sources of leadership should not be confined to individuals. There are some things so important to society that it creates institutions and organizations for their perpetuation. The public school and the church are good examples. These and other *institutions are charged with certain leadership functions* that are deemed essential to our welfare. These functions, of course, cannot be exercised independently of individual leaders, but the institutions provide the setting and the means whereby the leadership function for which they stand can be exercised. These institutions, agencies, and organizations have status that gives them a certain degree of authority. They also provide services that increase their status.

The basic *beliefs and values that underlie a community's directions* are also important sources of leadership. They describe the confines within which leaders may function successfully in the community. Should these values be violated too frequently, the individual or group will no longer retain a leadership position unless he or it controls the source of some service that is more important to the community than the value violated.

These values also help provide the stability that is essential for a community's continuous effective development. They change very slowly in the light of successful experience. Since some of these values are tied up so closely with institutions, they cannot be considered independently of one another.

No discussion of the sources of leadership would be complete without special reference to *success*. Those who are able to achieve outstanding success in whatever they do are at once accorded a leadership status reserved for no others. The physician may become a political leader because of his success in medicine. Or he may be sought for his advice on many matters not related to his profession, simply because he has achieved professional success. Success in one avenue of life invites opportunities for leadership in others.

The qualities that have been discussed do not necessarily dis-

tinguish one leader from another. They afford simple ways of looking at leadership and its operations. Obviously, leadership in practice cannot be broken up into the segments described above, for no person is limited to the possession of only one of the attributes mentioned. As a matter of fact, these qualities almost always occur in combinations in the same person. There may be those who possess to some degree almost all of the qualities that have been mentioned, although one or two may be paramount in their makeup. Others may be found who possess two or three of the qualities or sources of power, with one in particular dominating. It is quite likely that all these sources of power can be found in almost any community. These and other attributes tend to make up the total leadership structure or pattern in one's community.

THERE ARE DIFFERENT PATTERNS OF LEADERSHIP

A choice of procedures, methods, and techniques must be made for pursuing any course of action. By and large, the heavy hand of tradition weighs upon this choice, for the methods chosen usually reflect tried and true patterns of operation. Since exercise of the leadership function also connotes a relationship among people, one way of studying leadership is to analyze which of the possible relationships it makes use of.

One common pattern of leadership, which has been referred to several times before, is represented by Judge Overholt. No doubt existed concerning his relationship to other people. In one instance, the public knew his opinion on an issue virtually overnight. He had "passed the word along." This practice of passing down his personal opinions as the only ones that really counted contrasted sharply with the attitude he assumed in various groups, an attitude that implied respect for others. Thus, one very important leadership pattern is *"handing the word down."* When an election is at stake and issues arise, one leadership pattern is for the "bosses" to get together and make a decision on what ought to be done. Then their followers can be counted on to come through.

A related way of exercising leadership is *"wielding the big stick."* An applicant for a loan asked a banker if he would just as readily

accept his automobile for security as his home if either would provide adequate collateral. "No," replied the banker, "I much prefer a mortgage on your home." "But if I can't pay up, I'll really lose a lot more. My home is proportionately worth much more." "That's just the point," smiled the banker, "now just how much do you need?" Such a cold-hearted financier illustrates perfectly the type of man who would not hesitate to use his power as a club to get his own way. The same man owns a personal mortgage on a building three miles out of town that has recently been converted into a roadhouse. Indirect word reached the sheriff that he had better not raid the place because if he did the banker might suddenly decide to foreclose on the new business that the sheriff had recently financed for his son-in-law. Coercion is a sinister but effective use of power.

The *caucus* is an age-old political device. It has many uses. It is seldom used as skillfully and as effectively as in Jacksonville, mentioned earlier, where the constant core of the caucus were men by the names of Caswell, Osborne, Oakley, and Gleason. In a caucus, leaders may either collaborate closely or operate singly. Sometimes when an issue arises, the influential people in town will get together to talk things over. If there are warring leadership factions, several meetings may be necessary before a policy is determined. There may be earnest discussion and great freedom of expression among those who are present. Through this device the power group will arrive at an unofficial policy to follow. The conduct of the caucus may or may not be democratic, depending upon its members and their relationships to each other.

Some communities are subjected to the exercise of leadership through a process of in-fighting that goes on until one group overpowers the others. This type of leadership was obvious in our earlier illustrations of Wallace (Chapter 9), Bloomington (Chapter 9), and Clarendon (Chapter 10).

Conflict may be one effective way to settle issues, but it is the most costly method of arriving at a decision. It is not unusual for opposing factions to become so bitter that their main purpose appears to be destroying each other. Wherever issues are obscured by personality differences and group clashes, it is very difficult

to arrive at a resolution of issues except through slugging it out. It is unnecessary to comment on the waste of ability that the exercise of such narrow leadership causes.

A frequent and effective exercise of leadership is expressed through the *compromise* approach. Disagreements may exist about objectives that stymie action. Divergent groups may then come together and agree upon a course of action that does not embody all of what either would like. One group will give up one thing in order to get support from the other group for something else. The action is then repeated in reverse. The method of compromise often satisfies nobody.

A more acceptable technique of the exercise of leadership is the reaching of *consensus*. This may not satisfy everybody or anyone wholly, but it avoids the scars that frequently result where compromise is the last resort. Consensus simply indicates what is acceptable to all parties, although it may not result in action of the quality possible through other approaches. It may simply reflect the lack of very deep conviction either way, although if it has been arrived at after intelligent study it may be considered the highest expression of group decision. In the small rural community of Lawrenceville, described earlier, decisions were reached through consensus. Obviously, leadership directed to such ends would possess very desirable characteristics.

The different ways the power of leaders may be exercised are by no means mutually exclusive. One leader may use several means of influencing others. The leaders of a community may exemplify in the aggregate of their behavior all the patterns we have described and others. A particular pattern or method may be predominant in one community and a different method in another.

The various patterns may change from time to time even in the same group. Their actual expression depends on a number of factors, including interest in a particular issue and the balancing of these interests against competing ones. The intensity with which a pattern may be used is dependent upon the importance of the particular problem at hand. Each of the patterns that have been discussed may be called into play at the various levels of leadership.

LEADERSHIP IS USED FOR DIFFERENT PURPOSES

Since leadership requires people it cannot be disassociated from people's personal ambitions and desires. What these are will determine not only to what ends leaders exercise their powers but also to some extent the means they will use. Understanding of these factors is possible only through observing a leader's behavior and analyzing it in terms of his motivations and the procedures he employs. Although motivations are the better measure of the effectiveness of leadership, the methods leaders use must not be overlooked.

Leaders often use their position in the interests of their *personal ambitions* or selfish desires. Leaders so motivated do not hesitate to exploit others for the achievement of their personal goals. They rule out the participation of others in the formulation of goals; that is something they reserve for themselves. Such a leader frequently camouflages his real purposes under the guise of providing for others a measure of opportunity for meeting their own needs. Keeping others in partial ignorance of real objectives is a fairly common device. It may be done through controlling the sources of information, or by simply trying to manipulate other people's feelings and actions.

When is an interest selfish? Perhaps it is not too much to say that selfishness and unselfishness are extremes of the same continuum. Their difference is in degree rather than kind. Described in its extreme manifestation, selfishness could be said to be the complete absence of regard for others and their rights. This seems utterly impossible, since the well-being of a normal person is so largely dependent upon others and his relationships to them. In the same sense, complete unselfishness would be a total disregard of oneself in the interest of others. This is equally impossible. So the best way of determining whether or not a leader's interest is selfish is to examine how it affects his attitude and behavior toward others. Any expression of behavior toward others that denies them the same consideration the leader expects for himself is, by this standard, selfish. This, of course, rules out

the use of leadership to promote the interests of the leader alone.

Many "city fathers" enjoy their status. Success in their chosen occupational fields plus a degree of public service has brought them to their position of influence in the community. Subconsciously, they may consider this a just reward for their long years of hard work and self-denial. "We have a fine town," they say, indirectly complimenting themselves when they say so; "let's keep it like it is now."

Is the town a "fine town"? "Fine" for whom? Outside capital is not welcome because it might upset the balance in credit control that now resides with members of the control group. The enterprising young man who wanted to establish a newspaper could not understand why he was unable to get local support. "Who knows, this fellow might have ideas that we don't want our people to have thrown at them constantly through the pages of a local paper," the town leaders said. Decisions on such critical matters were exercised by the town leaders in the interest of their own status.

Leaders may seek to keep the power of decision in their own hands. This is one step removed from the type of selfishness illustrated by leaders who exploit others for their selfish interests. In this way control of change, insofar as the local scene is concerned, can be maintained. Protection of a satisfactory existing status is then assured.

The sheer *exercise of power* is a source of self-gratification to some people. They like to throw their weight around just to see what effect it has on others. They are likely to shout loudly at those whom they fancy to be under their control. These leaders are generally so afraid they will not be recognized that they exploit their power by abusing their subordinates. They may or may not have superior ability, but they are not content to depend upon the value of what they do to win the attention of their fellow men. It is necessary for them to make a show of their power.

Still others, envious of the standing of fellow citizens, use their power to create strife and divide the community in order to discredit rival leaders. This is another evidence of selfish use of

leadership. When such persons get into positions of top authority, they are likely to be completely unscrupulous and self-seeking. Ethics and fair play are foreign values to such leaders. Practices of this kind minimize the value of interrelatedness and reduce the significance of the interplay of community components.

Some leaders are unselfish enough to use their abilities for *rendering services* to the total community. Philanthropists and ministers usually fall in this class. Nearly everyone has a bit of this quality. Even the most selfish person recognizes the sincerity of the esteem accorded him because of values that accrue to the community as a result of his behavior. This highest level of self-gratification

is, however, one that a selfish person perceives but dimly. One reason may be that he has no confidence in his ability to be of service to others.

Perhaps everyone possesses the ability to contribute to community living to some degree, whether or not leadership is involved.

Leadership, in the broadest sense, consists of assisting people in a significant way with their own problems. A law student who helps a friend get out of a legal tangle is exercising leadership; so is a housewife who helps her neighbor solve an intimate problem. In this sense, even the services of social agencies may be classified as the expression of one kind of leadership.

The highest expressions of this motive of leadership are services that *help individuals, groups, and total communities make their own decisions* with respect to aims, plans, and the use of resources. Leadership of this kind calls for special motivation, special understandings of people, and special skill in human relations. These motivations fall on the upper levels of the continuum of unselfishness. Knowledge of human beings includes understanding of the psychological and emotional factors involved in human conduct, as well as the biological factors of human behavior. A leader's highest motivation is to work with others to stimulate their growth and creative development.

DECISIONS ADD UP TO COMMUNITY POLICY

From our brief discussion of the functions, sources, patterns, and purposes of leadership, we can see that the formulation of a single effective leadership pattern is impossible.

Each type or area of leadership carries with it some responsibility for a particular aspect or aspects of community life. Each leader or leadership group operates in terms of its own understandings of the community and the people who compose it. Decision-making is a prerogative of each type of leadership, but all do not exercise it alike. Nor do they all look upon it as having the same ends. It is out of this collection of relative specifics that a configuration of community leadership takes form.

The components of community leadership are not usually organized as a team, and they work as a team only infrequently. But each component has its own unique contribution to make to community leadership. When all of these contributions are put together, they add up to some kind of community policy. The relationship of these components to the community and to each other

is not fixed. Occasionally, various elements team up for a particular purpose; once their goal is achieved, they may go their separate ways again. On the other hand, some elements may be engaged in constant strife with each other. The web of relationships is dependent upon community opinion and community feeling to a considerable extent. What a leadership cluster is willing to undertake may be determined by how intensely the citizens feel about the issue under consideration. A given leadership pattern does not always work. Sometimes it is successful, sometimes it fails, but if it is unsuccessful too often another pattern will take its place. The struggle for power in a community is always going on. This is not a well-ordered battle in which declarations have been issued openly—the very field of battle has usually not been defined. It is simply the pull of conflicting forces toward goals that are not held in common or which offer grounds for competition. The introduction of new forces can upset a leadership pattern, as can the decline of existing forces or the surge to strength of hitherto weak elements in the community. Even the influence of tradition as a force can be modified by the introduction into the community of new factors. This means that power passed from one generation to another is subject to competition from other sources.

New ideas may act as powerful forces that upset the balance of a leadership structure. A graduate of a state agricultural college who comes back home to make his living may, simply by applying what he has learned in a matter of a relatively few years, find that he has completely upset the agricultural leadership pattern in his community. Even the simple matter of listening to contrary interpretations of the same news event by radio commentators may be a useful device for the introduction of new ideas. Now that a national figure can speak over television to the citizens of a community from his living room to their family firesides, constant contact with ideas from the outside world may begin to constitute an important force to be reckoned with in dealing with the leadership pattern of local communities.

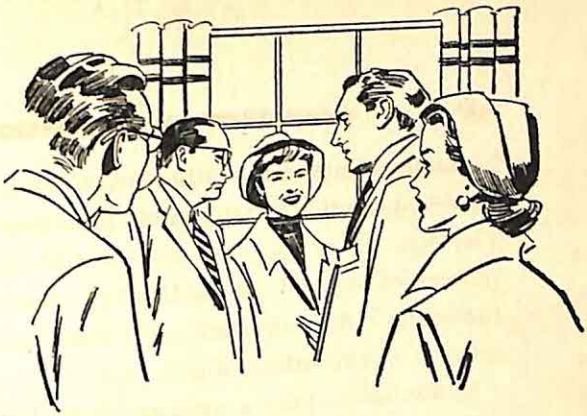
Radio and television are only two examples of inventions in the area of communication that have profoundly affected community

leadership patterns. Other inventions, such as the automobile and power agricultural equipment, have also had an important influence. The 40-hour work week has deeply affected communities and the pattern of community leadership. Sometimes the influence of these factors is not recognized until they have already affected the community in important ways.

Community policy emerges from this interplay of strong forces. The vitality of community life is a product of the great diversity that has been described. Complete diversity, of course, results only in chaos. The exercise of the leader's role makes some sort of order and direction out of this interplay of forces.

Achieving an interrelated community policy that aims at the greatest defensible number of individual and group goals need not be left to chance or caprice. Acceptable individual and social goals are scarcely divisible; consequently, whatever contributes to one inevitably contributes to the other.

If the development of a comprehensive policy for community welfare is to be undertaken seriously, two crucial factors must be given constant attention. The first of these is the way in which the community is structured. An organization that is conducive to a continuing effective relationship of all community elements in the pursuit of common purposes seems to be essential. Existing organization may or may not serve this purpose. Its modifications or extensions should be the subject of early study in a community that wants to improve itself. The other important consideration is the processes that are used in community undertakings. New structures may be necessary in order to make possible the use of processes that will bring out the best abilities of people and help them attain their highest level of self-realization.



CHAPTER FOURTEEN

THE UNIQUE PLACE OF THE SCHOOL ADMINISTRATOR IN THE LEADERSHIP STRUCTURE

RESPONSIBILITY for the establishment and execution of policy are the main functions of leadership. Communities do not formulate a systematic and integrated body of policy for all avenues of living. Rather, they proceed with specifics, handling each issue as it arises. The pieces of policy are arrived at by different groups and agencies according to where their chief responsibilities and interests lie.

An extremely important segment of community policy has to do with public education. Educational policy may be formed in numerous ways. Much of it is an expression of tradition, but some is created as problems arise. It is an expression of what the community feels about the value and nature of education. Some of it is formed at a distance—where the center of state government lies. Much of it is formed on a district level and within the school attendance center. Heavy responsibility for the execution of educational policy falls upon the superintendent of schools and the administrative staff. School personnel also have a role to play in the development of policy. Leaders in education make up a part of the total leadership structure of a community. Before one can

fully understand the school administrator's place one must first look at what is expected of the school.

THE PLACE ASCRIBED TO PUBLIC EDUCATION

To seek an understanding of the role of the school administrator in the community without first studying the role of the school would be like beginning a journey at the halfway mark. The administration of education has no cause for being except that it serves as one means of achieving the purposes of education. The nature of these purposes will, therefore, determine what educational administration is concerned with and how it is to be performed.

Foreign students frequently marvel at the great confidence Americans have in the power of education, in what schools can do for individual students and for society in general. Faith in education has been characteristic of the American people since the early days of the republic. Americans ascribe to their schools a more dynamic and creative role than the people of any other country.

Yet there is limited agreement on what kinds of schools should exist. It has been easy to state in very general terms educational objectives that would be acceptable to nearly everyone; but apparently these generalizations are relatively meaningless to many people, for once they are defined in terms of specific educational programs, sharp disagreements are apparent. These disagreements are too well known to need description here. Suffice it to say that a school program expressing the belief that children need subject matter for the sake of subject matter, that students should be taught reading and writing as ends in themselves, will be a very different school from one that centers its attention upon the use of subject matter and learning experiences to develop patterns of behavior compatible with democratic ideals. These two schools will require different types of administration, and the communities in which such schools are to be found are likely to insist on different types of administrators.

Some beliefs on what the school should do are generally agreed upon. Everybody knows that in general a person's earning power

is closely related to his educational attainment. Similarly the earning power of communities is closely related to the educational level of its citizens. In recent years much has been made of the relationship between education and the consumption of goods. The standard of living goes up as education increases. Most people seem to agree that economic well-being and self-sufficiency alone demand an adequate education for all people.

Other aspects of community welfare are also considered to be highly dependent upon education. Health conditions vary with the community educational level, and so do crime and juvenile delinquency. One can almost predict how prominent these factors will be in a community simply from the general educational level of the community.

The use of schools to develop allegiance to American ideals is known to all. An important resurgence of emphasis on this purpose of education has been observed in recent years. Now it is thought that schools should be more aggressive in teaching the story of the American way of life and the basic beliefs upon which it is built.

Newer demands on the school fall in the areas of emotional, mental, and physical health. Students are taught to practice health habits, to develop the capacity for critical thinking, and to try to understand themselves and their associates.

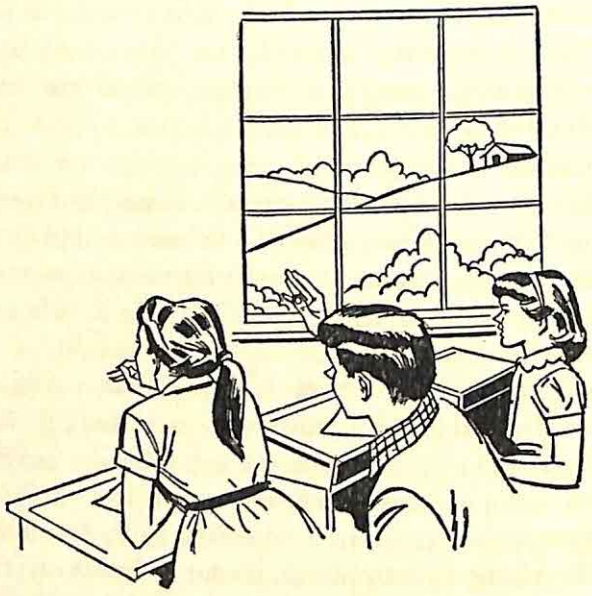
These demands place upon a school system burdens hitherto unknown. Teaching a person to understand the fundamental tools of learning is infinitely less complicated than teaching him their proper use in a democratic society as well. Not everyone accepts these broader functions of education.

It may be said, however, that there is enough agreement on what the school should do to provide adequate direction for the school administrator. He must have his own set of beliefs. His beliefs need not correspond to the majority opinion of his community, but he should respect the community's beliefs. Although he cannot proceed solely in terms of his own definition of the school's functions, he has every right to seek an understanding by others of what he believes. Perhaps it is clear that the responsibility of

educational administration cannot be defined except as based on some concept of the function of education.

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

Formerly the responsibility for educational administration was discharged by the residents of each community; there was no public school system and no educational administrator. As public schools



became a reality, there emerged a set of duties that were gradually assigned to the personnel of the school in addition to teaching duties. It was convenient to designate in schools of more than one teacher a head teacher, who was responsible for complying with various requirements prescribed either locally or from the state level. Necessary business matters, once transacted by the clerk of the board, were gradually transferred to the head teacher, who became first a principal and later a superintendent.

The responsibility of educational administration was gradually defined in legal terms. The performance of duties deemed necessary was frequently required by law. As schools expanded in

enrollment and broadened their curriculums, more legal prescriptions came into being. Subjects to be taught, length of school term, teacher qualifications, salary schedules, retirement provisions, health standards, and many other aspects of schools were eventually covered by legal requirements of one kind or another.

The fact that this array of legal responsibilities is generally couched in terms of rather discrete mandates has tended to make of educational administration a managerial function. Leadership in its more creative sense, therefore, is something that goes beyond the requirements spelled out in the law and in regulations of school boards. The fact that the functions of public education are expanding does not diminish the importance of the management role, but it creates for the school administrator an additional leadership role of great difficulty.

The community itself ascribes certain responsibilities to the school administrator. These may go beyond or may complicate the legal requirements that have been accumulated through the years. Not infrequently, the community expects its school administrator to assume certain burdens of leadership in the church of his choice. If he does not do so, his usefulness is impaired; people will think less of him. Traditional practice may carry greater weight than legislative enactments. Although the school code may unequivocally allocate to the superintendent the authority to nominate teachers, for example, nominations traditionally may be made by members of the school board representing special districts in the county. The superintendent who flaunts the law in the face of the board of education and arbitrarily seeks to discontinue the accepted practice may either lose his job or undermine his usefulness.

Among the strongest forces the school administrator will encounter will be the conception of his role held by the people whom he is to serve. His own convictions about his place will at least momentarily assume secondary importance, for the citizens will judge him, not in terms of what he believes about himself, but in terms of what they believe he should do. Any violation of community concepts of role, whether intentional or in ignorance, always creates difficulty.

Responsibility for educational administration, as we have said,

is derived from the nature of the task to be performed, which in turn derives its characteristics from the function of the school. Neither legal requirements nor traditional roles assigned by the community are likely to keep abreast of present demands of administration. Nor do they ever add up to the total job of administration or to its basic purposes. To the school administrator, therefore, falls the very difficult job of evolving his own concept of responsibility.

Thus, neither the law nor tradition can define the responsibilities of educational administration; they can define only parts of it. The real definition must be derived from the nature of the task to be undertaken. According to the best judges of the school's function in the community, educational administration's responsibility deals with (1) the development of community policy for education, (2) the execution of educational policy, and (3) the continuous evaluation of educational policy and progress in carrying it out. Each of the above requires both the leadership and management functions. It is assumed that any job required of the educational administrator will fall into one or more of these areas of administrative function.

The responsibility of educational administration as a process and the responsibility of the educational administrator himself are not necessarily synonymous. Indeed, they are not, for the administrator has particular areas of responsibility within the broad categories enumerated above. He certainly is not charged with the whole of educational administration. Responsibility for policy rests ultimately with the community itself, although it may originate with the board of education as a result of the efforts of the superintendent. The policy-making function cuts across the entire community, with various responsibilities allocated to the superintendent, the board, and the community as a whole. The specific responsibilities of the educational administrator mostly come under the second and third functions expressed earlier: planning for the execution of community educational policy and evaluation of progress in carrying out educational policy. The greatest demands on his leader-

ship, however, will come as the administrator seeks to promote the development of community policy toward education.

It should be remembered that the community concept of educational policy, which will include the ends to be attained and the means of pursuing these ends, will not be an expression of beliefs about schools arrived at independently of other opinions concerning community life. School policy will be only one expression of the community's judgment of what is important to it and the direction toward which it wishes to move. It will be part of a body of interdependent beliefs that reflect the community's concept of its role. Consequently, if the educational administrator is to understand the community's own concepts of education, its role, and its ways of achieving its goals, he must understand the community's over-all patterns of beliefs and values.

We have already looked at some of the existing structures of education. Let us now examine such structures as an essential element of educational administration.

THE STRUCTURE OF EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

Educational administration has a structure which, stated in its simplest form, is the plan or means through which objectives can be achieved. The legal structure for educational administration functions on three levels: the level of state government, the level of school districts, and the level of the school attendance center.

The source of these elements of structure is the state constitution. All state constitutions place the responsibility for public education with the state. Each defines this responsibility in its own way and allocates responsibility according to a set plan. In all cases certain powers are reserved to the state and certain other powers allocated to the school district, a creature of the state. These powers, both reserved and allocated, vary from state to state.

Under stated or implied constitutional provisions, state legislatures exercise great power over education. These legislative bodies can determine what is to be taught, the qualifications of the teacher, and the salary he is to be paid from state funds. They also pro-

vide legislation to raise school funds and plans for their distribution. Still other controls that are exercised over education by state governments come from the executive branch. In practice, many state legislatures delegate to the state board of education the specific authority to determine many controls.

The state board of education is responsible for educational policy within the confines left to it by the legislature. The official agency for the execution of legislative and board policy from the level of state government is the state department of education. The nature of many prescriptions from the board and the legislature requires the state department of education to exercise extensive regulatory functions. Such regulatory functions are generally meant to assure a certain amount of educational opportunity for all. Whether or not more important leadership functions are assumed by the state department of education is often left to its own discretion.

The legislature, the state board of education, the courts, the attorney general, and the state department of education form a loose area of structure with extensive powers over the local school districts and attendance centers. What these local areas of structure can do, therefore, depends a great deal on the extent to which the state bodies exercise their powers and the extent to which they allocate them to local bodies. The minimum pattern of influence is to allocate to local bodies all powers except those necessary to protect the educational interests of all children. The maximum would be a highly centralized state school system with no authority other than implementation left to local districts.

As stated previously, the local school district is a product of the state. It therefore carries with it a thread of the state's power. The board of education and the superintendency are the two basic elements of structure at the district level. The board of education represents in theory all citizens of the district and is charged with translating the wishes of citizens into educational policy. It has extensive powers within the limits defined by the state. These powers, however, vary from district to district and from state to state. A typical example of these differences is the dependence of district school boards on some other agency for approval of the

school budget on the one hand and fiscal independence of the school board on the other. It can be readily seen that the power which a local board is capable of exercising becomes a factor of tremendous importance in the development of educational programs.

The superintendency is the administrative arm of the board of education in theory. In practice this varies tremendously, for some boards tend to act as their own administrative arms, with the superintendent becoming an errand boy and bookkeeper. Generally speaking, the state defines rather clearly the duties and functions of the superintendency. The local board may define additional responsibilities or redefine in practice those enunciated by the state. It is traditional in this country to regard the superintendency as the agency charged with the execution of educational policy. It is, of course, the agency charged with the management function also. The leadership function in its more creative sense is not allocated from either the state level or the local level.

The policy formulated by the attendance center is largely of an operational nature. However, more and more freedom seems to be the trend for attendance centers. Earlier curricular restrictions are being superseded in some places by freedom to develop the curriculum, within minimum limits of prescription, on the level where education actually takes place. The principal of the school is the arm of the board of education in the execution of policy in the attendance center, but he nonetheless has relatively broad freedom in determining his own role. His freedom, however, is more in the area of methods of work than in the area of basic functions, excepting the function of community leadership.

It will be clear that the three elements of structure that have been discussed are designed theoretically to form an integrated pattern through which objectives may be achieved. The elements of structure should function in coordinate capacities; none should be unduly restrictive of the others. Those concerned should clearly understand the powers allocated to each, and take great care to protect the integrity and authority of each. Structure is inanimate and without direction or purpose; it is simply the channel through which power can flow. Although structure does provide for the

creation of bodies or agencies that are clothed with inherent power, these agencies are not independent, nor should they be in all matters. Therefore, in understanding how structure works and why it works as it does, it is necessary to look behind structure itself.

How the state board of education functions depends on who are its members and what they think about education. The way a state department of education exercises its authority and leadership is determined by the members of its staff, what they think about their function and role, and their understanding of effective methods of work. The same holds true of the local board of education and superintendent. Furthermore, outside forces may be brought to bear that will change the nature of the work that is being done and the way it is being done. For example, the board of education may not be willing to exercise its independence. Its members may be under the control of other forces in the community and subject to their domination. In this sense, structure is open to exploitation.

Educational administration, then, is a very clearly defined phase of the leadership pattern. However, it is not in any sense of the word independent of the total leadership pattern; like any other avenue of community life, educational administration is subject to various pressures and controls.

It may be appropriate to attempt a summary of the role of structure in educational administration. First, it sets up the mechanisms through which control of education can be effected and maintained. Second, it permits the allocation of responsibilities and the determination of the extent to which responsibility is effectively executed. This is more than dividing up the essential tasks; it is also a method of holding someone responsible and, therefore, fixing control. Third, structure permits the development of plans for carrying on the educational program.

As intimated more than once, the effectiveness of structure depends upon what happens within it. Important community processes move within this structure. They include the processes of educational administration.

THE PROCESSES OF EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

Structure as such is relatively inflexible. The structures of educational administration, like those of any other long-established social institution, tend to crystallize and to fall heavily under the influence of tradition and habitual usage. Adaptation to change is very slow.

The processes through which the impact of structure is felt become formalized to a much lesser degree than structure itself and are, therefore, susceptible to a more realistic adaptation to new conditions and needs. All social institutions are alike in this respect. To the degree that their behavior and functions have become institutionalized, it becomes more difficult for their processes to change. Even though processes may become traditional, they are still far more amenable to the influence of individual persons than is the basic structure itself. The official's functions may be relatively well defined by the structure of the institution, but his methods of work may be subject to his own definition.

The larger the number of people involved, the more fixed process tends to become. In education and its administration the uniqueness of both structure and process tends to disappear in the arena of politics, where issues are decided in the realm of state government. State boards are themselves susceptible to political forces. State departments of education functioning in the same arena as other state agencies are also influenced by the processes of practical politics and frequently find themselves in the position of having to use and yield to the same tactics. Politics may effectively block the exercise of other leadership functions that are needed.

Under these conditions state-wide educational policy, which may heavily affect what is possible in the way of local policy, is subject to the pressures and forces characteristic of any civil government. It is, therefore, subject to the same shortcomings as any other area in which politics figures, although reverence for public education sometimes is a good brake on the unscrupulous political pressures that might otherwise go unbraked. In road building, for example, where there is no element of reverence involved, politics is likely to run rampant. It should be said that the processes of practical

politics are not the exclusive prerogative of state-level administration.

Local boards of education and superintendents of local school systems are not immune to the interplay of similar forces brought upon them. A school board may find it difficult to agree upon policies of operation, and to stick to them when there are critical issues to be settled. The superintendent may find himself under considerable pressure to vary a practice or procedure in the interest of a certain group. These pressures are frequently brought to bear where the business affairs of the school are at stake, especially the purchase of supplies and equipment. Thus, structure cannot guarantee a particular method of operation or insure the successful administration of the school system.

Administration of education in the attendance center is also subject to influence by people who seek to adapt policy and structure to their particular interests and needs. It is axiomatic that the nearer the execution of a process is to the people affected, the less likely it is to be exploited by selfish interests. Methods by which administrative responsibilities are exercised within a school system are not so clearly visible as the school system's administrative structure.

The processes brought to bear on the administration of schools through the other aspects of the total leadership structure also vary in nature. The subtleties through which leaders express their power are as freely used in the determination of educational policy as in any other area of government. Whether or not current processes permit the expression of the opinions of all concerned may be obvious in the way an element of the leadership structure makes its weight felt in school matters. The very nature of the structure, as usually found, makes inevitable the application of pressure on educational administrators.

The "how" of leadership at work is of great significance insofar as education is concerned, since education is the only institution that has been entrusted with providing people with the skills they need for effective living. Moreover, education is responsible for developing values and ideals in the child that are compatible with

those of society. It is responsible also for the physical, mental, and emotional well-being of the individual. Since education deals with people and not things, and since it is necessary to deal with people in many details concerning schools if education is to serve its purposes, the methods educators employ assume critical importance.

When a principal was asked if there were a free play period in his school he responded promptly, "You bet there is, and I make the kids take advantage of it whether they want to or not." This principal had missed the point completely. If the object of the play period was to provide students with chances to make decisions for themselves, the principal was defeating its purpose by imposing arbitrary decisions on the children. The method used in this instance, like many other methods, may easily defeat the purpose of an activity because its influence is inconsistent with the purpose being pursued.

A principal in another community made administrative processes supplemental to educational purpose. He felt very keenly that the community needed a summer recreation program for children. His predecessor had felt the same way and for years had spoken every spring to some local civic group on the importance of a summer recreation project. Somehow the idea never caught on and nothing happened. The current principal talked it over with the pastor of one of the local churches, a man who had spent many years in the community and who was highly respected. The principal had no proposal to make; he merely wondered how to get the idea considered fairly and objectively.

The minister volunteered, "I'll talk to the president of the Lions Club about it. As you know, I happen to be a member myself and it won't be difficult for me to see him."

"I don't think we ought to do any more than simply raise a question about how children spend their time in the summer," suggested the principal. "Maybe we ought to see if there is any more juvenile delinquency at that time than any other."

"Yes," replied the minister. "The president of the Club will probably suggest a fact-finding study to see just how we're getting along in this community."

The matter was thoroughly discussed at an early meeting of the Lions Club. In the give-and-take of an open discussion, someone suggested the appointment of a group to find out the essential facts about the community's youth problem, particularly during the summer months. Someone else suggested that the committee might find out what similar communities had done about their own youth problems. Another member pointed out that this would be a good project for the entire club to get behind. To make a long story short, the study was completed and the Lions Club recommended that the principal of the school, the minister, and the local banker form a committee to draw up suggestions on how the youth problem might be met. A summer recreation program was the outcome.

In this case, the processes used to get an idea considered meant the difference between success and failure. Nobody set out to sell a ready-made solution. The only proposal made was that a widely recognized problem be studied.

Leadership expressed itself through skillful administrative processes in another school faculty. The faculty self-improvement program had been lagging badly. Teachers complained about being too busy. They just did not have time to go to a lot of meetings. Some had even forgotten the major objectives of the improvement program. The superintendent made a wise decision: he announced that owing to the heavy schedules of teachers, particularly in the spring months, the self-improvement program would be discontinued. At the end of the school year he asked that the teachers be prepared to report to school a week in advance of the opening date of the next session. He explained that a week of work and planning together might eliminate some of the frustrations that he had observed developed during the year because of the pressure of duties. The teachers would, of course, be paid for this time. Each one was asked to write out his suggestions for what should be done during this week and turn them in before leaving on his vacation. Every suggestion was carefully considered, and the week's work program was built around them as well as the ideas the superintendent and his staff had to offer.

There was more enthusiasm for the week's work than the super-

intendent had anticipated. Before it was over, he asked the faculty to decide on the major professional problems that should be dealt with during the coming year. When agreement had been reached, he asked what procedures should be followed and what plans ought to be made before school opened. He asked further if it would be a good idea to appoint a faculty committee to bring before the group suggestions to be discussed and acted upon.

After two or three meetings, the committee reported that the

problem of greatest concern should be the topic around which the year's professional improvement program should be built. The members of the committee also suggested a series of meetings and offered to plan the program. The excellent morale of the faculty was maintained throughout the year, and the superintendent declared he had never seen a finer working group or a more successful professional improvement program.

Effective processes depend heavily on the spirit and understanding back of them and on the particular techniques they employ.

Failure to recognize this often creates much confusion. There are those who seem to think that any discussion of process means a consideration of what they call the "group process." Nothing could be further from the truth. Work by committees and by groups is a technique—it may or may not involve effective processes. It depends on the way the group functions and the kind of direction and leadership it has. There is no magic in the group process. There is no magic in a committee. They merely offer convenient devices for creative work where the proper processes are brought to bear.

Process and method are also important in the relationship between two individuals. A principal who bawls out a janitor in a brutal and ruthless fashion when he finds a stage not set or a lavatory not clean is demonstrating an administrative process. Even though the principal is not thoughtful enough to remember that any number of things could have prevented the janitor from discharging his responsibilities, he is using a method to fulfill what he conceives to be his job. It would be just as easy to assume that the janitor had been legitimately detained from the execution of his duties until adequate evidence proved otherwise. This assumption would suggest a different administrative process, one that would enable an employee to take greater pride in his responsibility and to be more contented with his job. Thus, administrative process alone can do much to build pride of accomplishment, or it can create feelings of defiance and disrespect in an employee.

Some tasks may be initiated and completed better by a single person. There are many decisions in the administration of education that should be made by one person. Other tasks require the assistance of several persons. There are decisions that can be made better by a group than by a single person. However, the process involved need not vary substantially; only the techniques need vary.

These brief glimpses of defensible processes of democracy, whether in the administration of education or in carrying out any other leadership function, reveal the obvious. There is only one acceptable kind of method. It is based on postulates of democracy,

on respect for the individual citizen and confidence in his intelligence.

THE SCHOOL ADMINISTRATOR'S OPTIONS

Varying concepts of the role and function of the school administrator have been held up for examination. Among them are the role ascribed to him by his community, the role defined by legal prescription, and the role demanded by the nature of the job to be performed. In a sense, no particular role is imposed upon him, although ethically he must function according to the responsibility outlined by law and by the board of education. It goes without saying that the role he accepts for himself and how he carries it out will be the determinant of his tenure and success.

In the final analysis, the school administrator's own persuasions will describe the role he is to play. Whether or not he is to function merely to preserve the status quo—exerting no leadership whatsoever and simply bowing to the pressures that come his way—is his option. Whether or not he is to seek his satisfaction in the discharge of the management function of educational administration, and that alone, is also his option. Whether or not he will assay a role in which he is influential and which will result in a better school program and a better community is still another option he has. He has options of equivalent weight with respect to the processes and methods he uses.

Since there is no force that can compel a school administrator to be a leader, one may assume that he becomes a leader by choice, if at all. Although most people feel that the nature of his job imposes upon him certain leadership responsibilities, there are wide differences of opinion on just what they are and how they should be exercised. Some interpret them as giving the school administrator the prerogative of decision on policy and many related matters. Others feel that the administrator should merely stimulate people to think seriously about policy so that the policies they arrive at will be sound. The two concepts are at opposite poles.

There are those who see the educational leader as a mysterious figure who in some strange way wields tremendous influence for

the general betterment of the community. They envision his responsibilities as embracing something of a messiah function in leading the community to higher and higher levels of achievement. They lose sight of the many monotonous day-to-day tasks of administering the school system. Furthermore, the low status of teaching among the professions and the limited role traditionally accorded teachers in the community leadership structure create serious obstacles to the performance of leadership functions of an order so lofty. Many school administrators have neither the desire nor training which would qualify them for such leadership.

The mantle of real leadership falls on the shoulders of the person who has the necessary vision, insight, and capacity for so vital a role. The extent of leadership exercised by the educational administrator is determined finally by his capacity for leadership and not the position he holds. If people come to require seriously of education the broad functions now generally ascribed to it, they will need to look more and more for men with this capacity to place in key administrative posts in education.

If the educational administrator bears allegiance to the type of school program that has been briefly described, he cannot be content with merely a passive role or a management one. His only choice is to exercise leadership that will help achieve that kind of school in his community. He will strive for the wisest use of the community's intelligence in the determination of educational policy. He will provide opportunities for community study and discussion aimed at a better understanding of education and its function. He will encourage the development of the best possible plans for achieving the purposes of education. His work will involve organization, it will involve the appropriate use of resources, and it will involve constant administration and supervision.

The educational administrator with these persuasions will also see to it that better and better means of carrying out the community's desires for its educational program are possible. The role of evaluation is, therefore, an essential and realistic one. The wise school administrator does not shy away from these functions. There is no nebulous glow around this type of leadership—it will create

no halo about the head of the superintendent. It does not depart from the routine of school administration, looking after everyday affairs and managing the school and its program. But a greater dimension of leadership is added. This dimension of the school administrator's role makes his place in society unique; no other public official has responsibilities of equal importance in the crucial task of developing effective citizenship.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

THE LEADER'S GUIDES TO ACTION

IN THE PRECEDING CHAPTERS the authors have sought to present the dynamics of community life in a very simplified, direct form, complete with illustrations. We have tried to help our readers become increasingly sensitive to essential elements of community life, with particular emphasis on the role and significance of leadership in influencing the extent and nature of community progress. It is to be hoped that our readers may gain from this account a perspective that will enable them to arrive at a surer sense of direction and to take bolder and more positive action in the midst of the swirl of current events and in the heat of civic issues.

As stated in a preceding chapter, *nature's endowment in the form of natural wealth is the point of origin of all communities.* Since nature has not chosen to endow all communities alike, in either quality or quantity of wealth, they do not all start from the same base. This in itself, however, does not seal the doom of some communities and insure the success of others. What a community does with natural wealth is more important than how much it has.

People, of course, are the first essential element in a community. Their use of natural wealth, how well they process it, and how they adapt it to the satisfaction of human needs tell the story of com-

munity success or failure. But people are not alike. They differ in their abilities to use natural wealth and their abilities to add to it. Inasmuch as people vary in so many ways and create their own independent destinies, a variety of communities result.

How people regard each other is vitally important. They cannot ignore each other and achieve their goals. Groups are formed because people can best achieve their goals by pooling their capacities in productive relationships. Many agencies, organizations, and institutions result from these arrangements. *The relationships of individuals to individuals and groups to groups is thus a third important component of the community.*

The affairs of men may turn in many directions. Seldom do affairs come to the point where alternative choices are not possible. *The making of decisions is an inescapable aspect of community behavior.* Some decisions fall to the lot of an individual citizen or official alone. Others become the responsibility of groups and institutions. In any event, many decisions are made, some without reference to others and some to supplement or negate others. Together they chart the community's course.

Some people make up their minds more quickly than others; they can size up issues more accurately, and they feel inner compulsions to exercise more influence in community affairs than others. Such people are leaders. *These leaders more than any others help decide and implement things.* That is their role.

Society has created a very powerful institution in the public school. Its power is derived from the function ascribed to it of preserving our culture and improving it. It helps people to understand and appreciate our ideals and values. It helps prepare people for assuming the responsibilities and duties of citizenship. It helps equip people to be economically self-sufficient. *In short, the school is society's invention for its own constant refinement and improvement.*

The administration of education is, therefore, a very important community leadership function and responsibility. People in positions of administrative leadership in the public schools have a unique role to play in the community. Management of the public schools

is but one part of this role. *Establishing and maintaining community relationships and understandings that will result in the constant improvement of the schools is the more exacting responsibility of educational administration.*

Natural wealth, people, and the relationships, organizations, institutions, and groupings they create are indeed the basic elements of a community. Decisions, leadership, education, and the administration of education are essential to community welfare. These and still other elements do not exist apart from each other, but together add up to community life and its expression in daily affairs. The extent to which the community expresses best the aspirations and goals of its people and the extent to which it is a creative, thriving, dynamic social organism depend very heavily upon its leadership and the role played by it. *Therefore, the nature and quality of leadership available to a community are critical factors in its success.* The following guides will be useful in insuring the successful expression of leadership in action.

A COMMUNITY LEADER POSSESSES CONVICTIONS

In a free society, men live by their convictions. Convictions are strong persuasions or beliefs that make people pursue particular courses of action. When a person has to decide how to resolve an issue, his convictions dictate the choice he makes. Because a leader's role influences others, his convictions are of greater importance than those of a person whose scope of influence is smaller.

The leader has convictions about people, and these convictions hold people to be of supreme importance. Unless people count with a leader simply because they are people, he may be in danger of exploiting them for selfish interests. He expresses the meaning of the phrase "worth and dignity of the individual" in the consideration he shows others and his conviction that everyone has equivalent inherent worth. This quality is one of emotion rather than intellect alone. It cannot be successfully simulated, for it conditions wholly one's treatment of others and how one feels toward them.

The leader has the conviction that all people possess some degree of intelligence, that no one is limited in his performance to habit and instinct. The use of intelligence is what raises people above

the level of other forms of life. Intelligence enables people to discriminate and make decisions in terms of available evidence. These decisions reflect what is important to the person who makes them; in making them, he expresses his basic values. The leader recognizes the role of intelligence in the life of the individual and the community. The best leader recognizes that there are different levels of effectiveness in the use of intelligence. He knows that there are methods that bring out its best use. He is, therefore, *dedicated to use of the scientific method of solving problems.*

The leader knows that interdependence among people is no longer a matter of choice if communities are going to achieve any significant degree of progress. He is convinced that interdependence is a way of life and not mere expediency. Interdependence is a way of bringing out the best efforts of a person and supplementing them with the best efforts of others.

The educational administrator should believe that people can be improved by education, that education makes a difference in how people live, think, and conduct themselves. He should believe that everybody is entitled to the best education possible. He should understand that, because of the nature of his position, he has a mission to perform, and that his performance of this mission should bring people ever nearer to the goals he and they think they can reach.

The kinds of convictions under discussion are of great importance for every citizen. That they may be of greater significance to the leader stems from his peculiar responsibilities to society. Those who possess defensible convictions regarding the use of leadership and its functions must feel that their leadership is for the welfare of all, that it must never be applied solely to the achievement of their selfish ambitions. The development of others toward the best use of their creative powers is reward enough for the real leader.

PARTICULAR UNDERSTANDINGS ARE HELD BY LEADERS

Convictions are not enough to guide the leader, even though their role is important; he must also understand the materials he works with. Understanding is the capacity to render experience intelligi-

ble by bringing an array of particulars under appropriate concepts; the understanding leader is always relating the action or objects with which he is dealing to his convictions and knowledge. It is especially important that a community leader have adequate understandings about himself, other people, and communities.

The leader must understand himself. It is difficult to look at one's own behavior critically and appraise it realistically. Nevertheless, the leader should constantly examine his behavior. From self-criticism and an analysis of his actions, he should develop an understanding of his motives. He should also understand how his attitudes add color and tone to what he attempts to do, how he verbalizes and acts upon his convictions, what his intellectual and physical capacities are, and what his major strengths and weaknesses appear to be. Out of these many specific understandings emerges a concept about himself as a person and his potential as a leader.

The leader must understand others. Although people have much in common, it is obvious that no two people are alike. The leader must understand the significance of individual differences to community life. Very diverse elements are at work in a community setting; the leader relates these diverse elements to each other and to the job at hand. He will see new meaning in the diversity of people—a source of power for community progress. In doing this, the leader has conceptualized his experience on an abstract level where it can be applied to other situations. In short, he acts in terms of an understanding of how diversity can be an asset sometimes rather than a liability.

The leader must understand how others can offer a variety of conflicting solutions to a problem and how each person can be sure his is the right solution. He must understand the importance of values and beliefs to people, the effects of conflict, the satisfaction resulting from accomplishing a task, the stimulation associated with work with other people.

The leader must understand the various behaviors of society as something more than a composite of individual and group behavior. Apart from understanding himself and others, the leader needs to

be able to analyze and interpret the conduct of groups and the way they function in relation to each other. He should understand the drives underlying society. These drives spring from a broad base of values that the leader should be able to recognize and define. He should be aware of society's assumed and purposefully wrought-out convictions about itself, and he should understand how they affect his role of leadership.

The educational administrator, to attain his maximum usefulness, is required to understand the functions of public education in terms of school personnel, materials of instruction, and the educational experiences that can best express in practice what education seeks to achieve. In no other way can the substance of education be expected to give meaning to its philosophy and basic purposes. In like manner, the processes through which people become educated should be clearly understood by the leader; he should be able to demonstrate these processes in his own day-to-day work.

The importance of an adequate understanding of educational administration and its purposes is obvious. The administrator must understand his own conditioning role in determining the nature and quality of a community's school program. The administrative function may be performed so that it inhibits and retards educational opportunities; or it may function to release the abilities of others and achieve a fuller realization of the community's best available capacity to produce education. An understanding of these two possibilities adds substance to the administrator's convictions. However, his understanding must go much further. Only a frame of reference has been set; out of it comes his responsibilities, the binding commitments of his role.

THE LEADER ACCEPTS AND DISCHARGES RESPONSIBILITIES

To understand leadership adequately one must translate it into specifics that indicate the nature of what a leader does or should do. Some responsibilities of leaders will be discussed briefly.

It is a leader's responsibility to be adequately informed. Effective leadership requires the use of proper information. When a problem or issue arises, the leader has a responsibility for collecting

all pertinent information before taking a position.

Careful and painstaking study are a leader's responsibility. It falls to the leader's lot to see that pertinent information is assembled and organized in useful form. It is necessary to study data as a basis for forming judgments about what should be done, and to analyze relevant information objectively in order to set the stage for sensible decision-making.

Providing for the formulation of policy is a responsibility of leadership. Policy in this sense means a projected course of action. It requires of the leader that he take a position. Once he has all the knowledge he needs to resolve an issue, he can consider what steps need to be taken to settle the issue. He then scrutinizes alternative courses before choosing the course of action that seems most promising and settling upon it as his policy. The leader himself is not necessarily responsible for the decisions that are made. His responsibility may consist largely of providing the best setting and best basis upon which the people who are to be affected can agree upon a policy. In other cases, he may have much greater responsibilities.

The leader must plan and organize for the execution of policy. Decisions imply action. But before action can be properly harnessed, it is necessary to take stock of what is available to carry out a policy and make plans for its most sensible use. The leader needs to see that a plan for action consistent with decisions made, or policy agreed upon, is fixed upon. It is his responsibility to see that the materials and other resources available are organized in terms of the plan, and that the most economical possible use is made of them. Plans may be complex or simple. Organization may be cumbersome or streamlined. The leader is responsible for adapting both plans and organization to the policy to be carried out.

The leader is responsible for action. Information, study, policy, plans, organization—all may come to no avail unless they are translated into a program of work. Sensible action is predicated on the successful completion of the foregoing steps. Although the proper preliminaries do not guarantee action, they set the stage for the kind of action that will be most useful in achieving the goals to

be sought. Thus, the leader's chief responsibility is to spark action. This may call upon his most sensitive skills. It may be that he will set an example himself. At any rate, his behavior must be such that others are stimulated and encouraged to get going on the job that has been agreed upon. The leader has another responsibility for action. He must observe action and pace it so that it does not get off the track, lose sight of its goals, misapply the plans that have been adopted, or subvert the organization that has been set up. In short, the leader has to see that action continues until its goal is achieved or redefined.

The leader is responsible for the evaluation of results. Evaluation is an integral part of any operation; it takes place whether it has been consciously planned for or not. The leader has responsibility for evaluating action to determine how well it has achieved the purposes for which it was originally initiated. Evaluation takes place at all stages of a leadership operation, from the collecting of information all the way through to the final action. It provides a means for constantly ascertaining whether or not policy, plans, organization, or even action should be modified. It is a means of testing the significance of action and drawing conclusions about subsequent policy and aims. The leader is, therefore, responsible for seeing that evaluation is always recognized for its importance and that it is constantly a part of all phases of the leadership function at work.

The leader is responsible for integration. Both individuals and groups perform as wholes, rather than in parts. As a consequence, the multitude of leadership operations must be viewed in terms of a unity—the leader must ask himself what the total effect of his actions will be on the community. The fullest achievement of the various actions that take place in improving a community depends to a great extent on attaining the highest possible level of integration. This, of course, is helped tremendously where a community is already so organized and so functioning that a high degree of unity of direction exists as a basis for the various types of action programs.

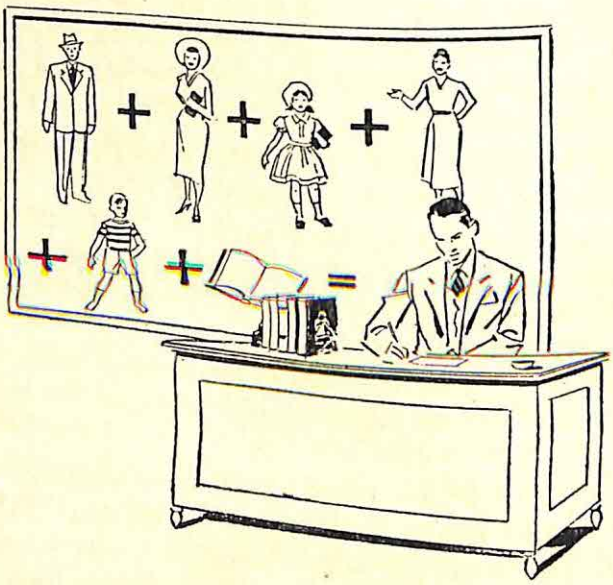
These responsibilities appear to fall alike upon all leaders. Re-

gardless of the particular area of leadership involved, it seems necessary that the leader, if he is to achieve his fullest usefulness, should express his energies as a part of the pattern of behavior outlined above. Responsibilities will not perform themselves. Certain other guides for the leader are needed.

THE LEADER DRAWS UPON SPECIFIC KNOWLEDGES

Effective leadership requires knowledge. To have information is not sufficient. Information, facts, concepts not only must be pertinent but also must be expressed in usable terms. Knowledge, therefore, is information that is gained from experience, a usable grasp of factual materials.

The leader has at his command essential facts about the community he serves. He has assessed the community's natural wealth and examined how people have used it. He knows the other leaders in the community and the sources of their influence. He knows the



social structure of the community, its economic structure, and the beliefs and values its people hold. He has at his command facts on the various trends in progress in the community. He also knows

the social institutions and organizations, formal and informal, that are to be found in the community. His knowledge may not be specific enough to enable him to keep in mind all of these things, but he is aware of their existence and is able in general to maintain an awareness of their nature and impact on the community and the schools. The leader knows how decisions are made in his community, and he knows who the key figures are in decision-making.

The leader must possess up-to-date knowledge of state, national, and world affairs. Happenings in far places intimately affect local communities. By keeping in mind relevant knowledge of contemporary life and events, the leader is in position to keep in step with changing conditions. Government policies on local, state, and national levels are of great importance. International policy becomes more and more significant. Knowledge of business trends and social movements is essential for the leader who is to reach maximum effectiveness in the improvement of his community.

The educational leader should know the essential body of the content of education. Since most professional schools concern themselves primarily with this objective, it is perhaps unnecessary to amplify this point. Suffice it to say that the historical background and development of public education; its legal basis; the history, organization, and administration of education; the role of the nation, the state, and the local district in public education; the psychology and sociology of human behavior; the nature of learning; the purposes of education; the curriculum and its development; and other areas of professional education are pertinent to a full understanding of the school and the social order. Another kind of knowledge has to do with administrative processes and their evaluation.

The educational leader should keep his knowledge of newer developments and trends in education up to date. Schools, like other social institutions, are in a constant process of change, though it may seem to be a slow process at times. Experimentation in education goes on constantly. New ideas are being continually tested in education. They range across the board in all educational affairs. The leader cannot attain his greatest usefulness unless he

is in possession of the facts about such developments and can appraise them with respect to their usefulness in his work.

The importance of knowing new developments in the administration of education and knowing how to profit from them cannot be overlooked. In recent years the administrative function and administrative processes have been the subject of more intensive study than ever before. Newer methods and techniques of administration and leadership are being tried out and appraised. The alert educational administrator will take advantage of tested evaluations and experiments of these kinds.

A LEADER MUST DEMONSTRATE SKILL IN HUMAN RELATIONS

Skill is the ability to use knowledge to some purpose, to demonstrate expertness in some aspect of behavior. The skill of a leader involves techniques of dealing with people and ideas. It is not nearly so specific as the skill of a surgeon or a radio repairman, but its function is equally important.

The leader must be skillful in relating himself to others. In the final analysis the effectiveness of a leader depends on his capacity to gain acceptance by others and, in turn, to accept others. This is the only basis for working relationships that bring out the best abilities of people. Moreover, the leader should know how people will react to different aspects of his own behavior. He should know how to put people at their ease, how to get them to express themselves, and how to get them to think together. Furthermore, the leader's relationships with others must be durable. Productive working relationships must often be maintained under duress, and unforeseen problems place a premium on the leader's skill in maintaining proper relationships with others.

The leader should be skilled in working with both individuals and groups. The two skills are part and parcel of the same thing, although group work requires a mastery of certain techniques and methods that are not necessary for effective relationships with individuals. The personality of the group can be described just like the personality of an individual. The leader should have specific ideas on such subjects as what makes a good setting for an effective

work group. He should know how to create a working environment that will bring out the best that people have to offer.

Effective self-expression is an important skill for the leader. Self-expression requires more than fluency in language. A leader must know how others express themselves effectively also, and how his own listeners are receiving his expressions. The leader must know that people express themselves in ways other than the use of words—for example, through emotion, through motivation, and through how they react to others.

Convictions, understandings, responsibilities, knowledges, and skills in the leader do not function in his makeup as entities. Indeed they form a Gestalt—an interacting whole—which can be observed as the leader's patterns of behavior or his leadership in action. A leader's performance, of course, reveals the true nature of his leadership, and this is the point at which evaluation must take place. Now that the ingredients of leadership behavior have been identified, let us consider leadership performances as a whole.

LEADERSHIP POSSESSES DEFINITIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF PERFORMANCE

There are many patterns of successful administrative behavior, no one of which can be designated as the best. The choice of a particular leadership pattern must be made in terms of the situation in which it is to be used and the goals it is designed to achieve.

A leader's behavior exemplifies his concept of his leadership role. Excess occupation with trifles, petty details, and routine dissipates a leader's time and energy and belies his own concept of the importance of his job. Such matters cannot be ignored, but they can be treated for what they are—merely a clearing of the way to deal with more significant concerns. He who bogs down in the minutiae of his job depletes his energies needlessly and cannot attain a real leadership role.

The capacity to discriminate within a complex pattern of requirements and tasks in order to concentrate on those of greater significance is an attribute of effective leadership. The true leader sees beyond the immediate task and relates it to an entire pattern

of leadership. The leader's choice of what jobs to undertake indicates not only the leader's evaluation of the importance of his function but also the degree of confidence he has in himself. The highest concept of leadership requires the leader to look ahead and to project himself into a consideration of needs and problems that may not yet be pressing.

The leader's performance always demonstrates his respect for others. His concern for the well-being of others is apparent. He behaves in a way that brings out the best in others. He is never inconsiderate or ruthless in exercising his influence.

A more positive aspect of the leader's performance is the confidence he has in the capacity of others to be useful and his faith in their willingness to do useful things. Thus, encouragement of others to do their best, recognition of excellent performance, and the sharing of credit for success—all are evidences of this type of respect. A good leader consults with others, talks things over with them, and brings them in from the beginning on the consideration of problems and policies.

To treat all alike is the test of this kind of performance. The banker and the candlestick maker will look alike to the true leader in terms both of their basic worth and of how they should be considered when the effects of policies are being examined.

The leader relies upon critical thinking under all circumstances. That is, he brings his attention to bear on problems that are real to him and makes a deliberate, unhurried approach toward solving them. The search for objectivity is essential to the best use of intelligence. Arbitrary and authoritarian decisions often prevent an effective application of the method of intelligence.

The leader is dedicated to the scientific method. His search is for the best solution to a problem in terms of its influence on those affected, rather than in propagandizing for a particular solution of his choice. In general, the scientific method consists of defining the problem, gathering pertinent and relevant data, analyzing and interpreting the data, formulating on the basis of the foregoing steps a solution to the problem, putting the solution into effect,

evaluating results, and then defining further needs or problems on the basis of this evaluation.

The leader sees that resources are used to the best advantage. A leader must possess a sure knowledge of the characteristics of the resources at hand, both human and material, and must know where and how they can be used to make their maximum contribution. He must be able to weld a variety of resources into an effective team. The great leader is noted not for what he does alone in getting jobs done, but by the way he is able to marshal, organize, and administer resources so that they can achieve their maximum performance.

All of the leader's performances add up to a consistent pattern of behavior. Expediency is the device of the unsure, the selfish, and the ignorant. A leader can avoid such behavior when his convictions are important enough to be reflected in all of his behavior. In a sense, even expedient behavior can be an over-all policy, but such behavior denotes a level of convictions that is not compatible with the concept of effective leadership. It is true that convictions not normally associated with a leader's job may sometimes affect his performance—for example, his conception of his own status or his desire for self-preservation. Although these feelings are not to be discounted, they do not figure significantly in the actions of an outstanding leader.

The leader is one of the people. He feels comfortable as a being who possesses distinct personal abilities, but he realizes that these abilities count most when they are applied to problems and activities that are acknowledged by others. His performance, therefore, indicates that he considers himself accepted. Nothing denies the concept of leadership so quickly as a person imbued with a complex of salvation and self-sacrifice. The leader's mission is not to save the world, but to help the world improve itself.

A paternalistic exercise of leadership springs from a sense of possessiveness, which sets the leader apart and permits him to accept a self-awarded role that makes him more important than others. "We" is a more important word to the true leader than

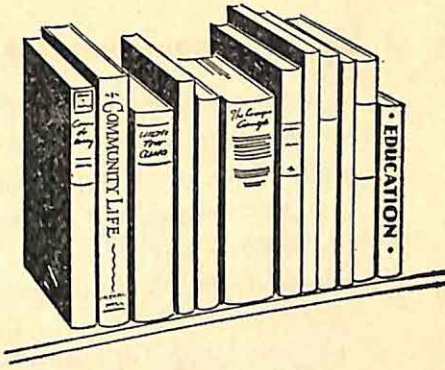
"I." He considers himself a member of a team; his responsibilities are somewhat different from those of other members, but not necessarily more important. His satisfactions come through attaining objectives successfully, rather than in having people look up to him as their superior.

The struggle to build a social order that truly reflects the values and aspirations basic to the American way of life never ends. Progress comes unevenly—in spurts, in leaps and bounds. Economic progress has so far outrun social development that serious strains are imposed upon what were formerly satisfactory social patterns.

The local community is one area of this stress. As the setting of human life, it no longer provides a continuous laboratory for maximum growth in the processes and practices of self-government. And yet no substitute has been found that can serve better than the community as the scene for the expression of some of our most important values.

The authors have made an effort to show what communities are like, how the forces within them interact, and how from this interaction leaders emerge, decisions are made, and community policy takes shape. The role of the leader has received special attention. The place of the school and the role of its professional leadership have been treated in relation to the entire community scene.

The role of the leader as we have shown it is not a glamorous one. It requires strong dedication to the common good, unremitting labor, and an unselfishness that places the welfare of others on a par with the leader's own welfare. The person who finds himself in a leader's role cannot escape the responsibilities described in the preceding pages. But the stakes are high. The very future of the American way of life depends on community leaders, and on those in high places in state, national, and international councils who will come from their ranks.



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INNUMERABLE TREATISES have been written on democracy and the extent to which democracy is a political and social reality in America. Some discourses have sought to refine further a theory of democratic living. Other writings have dealt with more extensive efforts to implement democratic ideas as they are generally perceived. Still others purport to make a critical analysis of life in America, recording democracy in action.

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PEOPLE

MOST PEOPLE arrive at a conception of what human beings are really like from their experiences with others. Such experiences provide tangible, irrefutable evidence about human nature. However, people differ in the amount of meaning they are capable of deriving from such experiences. Furthermore, they inevitably inject their own personalities into these experiences. For these and other reasons, factual studies can add much to one's knowledge and understanding of the intrinsic nature of people. The references that follow offer only a few sources of information on this topic.

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THE COMMUNITY

ANY COMMUNITY possesses a multitude of dimensions that must be accounted for if it is to be fully understood. The tendency is to avoid the frustrations of dealing with intangibles and, by definition, say that a community is merely what one sees at any given locality: people, homes, schools, and the like. However, underlying these tangibles are values, beliefs, interests, attitudes, feelings of belonging and rejection. These are also ingredients of community life. The following references may help you develop this broader understanding of the community.

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DECISION-MAKING

HUMAN VALUES, formal and informal groups, community structures and processes, and many other elements of community life are constantly undergoing orientation and re-orientation to deal with immediate and long-range problems. The solutions to such problems are usually vital to the welfare of the community, and over a period of years reflect very realistically the nature of a community's social policy. The following references are suggested as sources of information on this critical aspect of community action.

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FEW PEOPLE recognize fully the value and the power of education. Unfortunately, a general notion of education pictures it as the plague of youth, a hodge-podge of abstractions and truisms. Quite a different interpretation of education acknowledges it as a process that deals with the most volatile of all forces, such as facts, ideas, purpose, method, point of view, evaluation, and action. References that explain the place of education in a culture and that show education to be a social force are listed below.

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THE FUNCTIONS of the educational administrator have changed phenomenally, from routine clerical duties to managerial techniques and devices, and finally to broad community responsibilities. Commensurate with these successive new horizons have come increased personal demands on the school principal or superintendent. Thus, legal mandates, continually increasing professional vision and willingness, and the demands of community needs have continued to extend the functions of educational administration. Some of these important changes are described in the books and magazine articles listed below.

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LEADERSHIP

THE AMOUNT and quality of leadership fairly well defines the progress of any social group—a friendship or kinship cluster, a club, a suburban district, a rural community, a metropolitan area, or still larger statutory divisions or subdivisions of people. However, determining the amount and quality of leadership is no simple task. The variables, the unknowns, and the complexities that are inevitably involved in any study of leadership present a baffling, tantalizing challenge to any researcher on the subject or to any aspiring citizen who wishes to make his actions count for more. However, some seemingly useful understandings of leadership have been developed, and references that suggest where further information can be found are listed below.

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